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Bridging the cultural divide: American Indians at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923.

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BRIDGING THE CULTURAL DIVIDE:
AMERICAN INDIANS AT HAMPTON INSTITUTE, 1878-1923

A Dissertation

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Jon L. Brudvig

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APPROVAL SHEET

This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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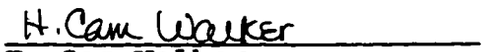

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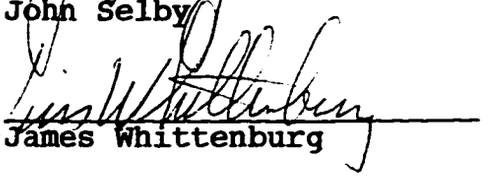

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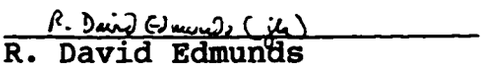

R. David Edmunds
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For Sandy,

With Love and Gratitude

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ABBREVIATIONS

BTW	Booker T. Washington
CMF	Cora Mae Folsom
CWA	Caroline W. Andrus
HBF	Hollis Burke Frissell
HUA	Hampton University Archives
HWL	Helen W. Ludlow
JER	Josephine Richards
LMC	Lake Mohonk Conference
NEA	National Education Association
RCIA	Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs
RHP	Richard Henry Pratt
SF	Student File
SW	Southern Workman
T&T	Talks and Thoughts

ABSTRACT

After the Civil War, government officials accelerated their efforts to induce the American Indians to adopt the skills, language, and values of Euro-American society. Advocates of this new "peace policy" believed that academic and vocational training provided the best method for assimilating Indians into the dominant society. Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, founded by Samuel Chapman Armstrong as a school for freed slaves in 1868, played an integral role in this approach. From 1878 until 1923, approximately 1,451 American Indian students representing sixty-five tribes came to Hampton. Armstrong's philosophy of "education for life" indicated his desire to prepare the school's native American pupils to confront the upheavals in tribal society caused by forced relocations and the stark reality of reservations.

Though white educators attempted to introduce Indians to a new way of life and thought, the students were not pawns in the hands of racist educators. Many pupils accommodated their new knowledge and skills with their traditional tribal culture. Though they may have embraced the outward trappings of Euro-American culture, they never stopped being Indian. Bolder students rejected Hampton's offerings and rebelled, ran away, or died during their stay. "Bridging the Cultural Divide" recounts the positive and negative experiences of Hampton's American Indian students. It documents who these Indian scholars were and how their formal training transformed them into cultural missionaries capable of bridging the gaps between the Indian, black, and white races.

BRIDGING THE CULTURAL DIVIDE:

AMERICAN INDIANS AT HAMPTON INSTITUTE, 1878-1923

INTRODUCTION

> A bridge is the embodiment of the effort of human heads and human hearts and hands. It carries peoples' burdens that the tasks of people may be lightened. It shortens distances and facilitates progress. It diminishes that which divides us and brings people together in harmony, as its arching span is a link of unity over barriers that separate.
>
> Bridge builders are servants in our community, building not monuments to themselves, but for service to others. They pour their souls into the creation of their bridges, knowing there must be first, the vision and then, the compelling endeavor to bring that vision to reality.[1]

Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute was established in 1868 to meet the educational and spiritual needs of newly freed slaves living in the vicinity of Hampton Roads, Virginia. The first president and leading force behind the creation of the school was Samuel Chapman Armstrong, a Union officer during the Civil War and Freedmen's Bureau administrator for Eastern Virginia.

Armstrong's childhood cultivated in him a deep and abiding sympathy for underprivileged people. His parents, Richard and Clarissa Armstrong, left their New England

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[1]Steinman and Watson, quoted by Sherri N. Coe-Perkins, Vice President for Student Affairs, Marquette University, in Marquette Magazine 13 (Winter 1995), 32-33.

community to evangelize and educate Hawaiian natives.[2] His father served as minister of Public Instruction in the Hawaiian islands. Samuel later remarked that the problems of "emancipation, enfranchisement and Christian civilization of a dark-skinned Polynesian people" were worked out in the Hawaiian islands. He was referring to the Lahaina-Luna Seminary for young men and the Hilo Boarding and Manual-Labor School established by David B. Lyman. Hampton's founder later recalled that "Mr. Lyman's boys had become among the best teachers and workers for their people, while graduates of the higher schools . . . had frequently been disappointing." His first-hand experience in Hawaii convinced him that students needed not only training in books, but a well-rounded education that instilled self-respect, industry, and practical virtue.[3]

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[2]Clarissa Armstrong discussed her Hawaiian missionary experience in a series of articles written for Hampton's school newspaper, the Southern Workman. See 10 (Jan 1881), 8; 10 (Feb 1881), 32; 10 (April 1881), 44; 10 (May 1881), 56; 10 (June 1881), 86; 11 (Jan 1882), 8; 11 (March 1882), 32.

[3]"From the Beginning," Memories of Old Hampton (Hampton, VA, 1909), 2-4; SCA, "Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands," Journal of Christian Philosophy (Jan 1884), 213; Francis G. Peabody, Education for Life (New York, 1918), 58, 88-89; Robert F. Schneider, "Samuel Chapman Armstrong and the Founding of Hampton Institute," (Honors Thesis, Williams College, 1973), 8-9; Edith Armstrong Talbot, Samuel Chapman Armstrong (New York, 1904), 3-40 154; Joseph Willard Tingey, "Indians and Blacks Together: An Experiment in Biracial Education at Hampton Institute (1878-1923)" (Ed.D. dissertation Columbia University, 1978), 4, 39, 40-46.

Armstrong's Williams College experience also shaped his educational theories. Mark Hopkins, the school's president, created a learning environment that rooted the formative experience firmly in Christian concepts. The curriculum reinforced the Protestant work ethic in its students and inculcated in them a love of learning and a sense of duty to assist the less fortunate. The time spent with Mark Hopkins during the early 1860s--Armstrong boarded in the president's house--influenced Armstrong's later belief that productivity ultimately required coordinating body, mind, and soul.[4]

Following his graduation from Williams, Armstrong enlisted in the Army and was commissioned a Captain of Company D of the 125th New York Regiment. His first experience with black soldiers came in November 1863 when he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Ninth United States Colored Troops. A short time later, Armstrong was promoted to the rank of colonel of the Eight United States Colored Troops. By war's end Armstrong attained the rank of brevet brigadier general. The twenty-six-year-old general now began to look for a new vocation at a time when the defeated South was looking to rise from the ashes of a devastating war.[5]

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[4]Tingey, "Indians and Blacks Together," 46-50; William Hannibal Robinson, "The History of Hampton Institute, 1868-1949," (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1954), 49.

[5]Talbot, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, 63-119; Robinson, "The History of Hampton Institute, 1868-1949," 50-57.

In March 1866, General O.O. Howard, director of the Freedman's Bureau, appointed Armstrong to head the fifth sub-district of the Freedman's Bureau for a ten-county region in eastern Virginia, headquartered at Hampton. The following year the American Missionary Association, at Armstrong's urging, established a small school in Hampton, the Butler School, to provide rudimentary training for recently freed slaves in the area. A short time later, Armstrong envisioned a "permanent and great educational work" that would continue to build upon the initial success of the Butler School.[6]

Armstrong recognized the power of education during his work with the freed slaves and sought to establish an educational institution designed to prepare these men and women for life after slavery. "The education of the Freedmen is the great work of the day," noted the general. It is their only hope, the only power that can lift them as a people."[7] In time, Armstrong received land grants to establish a school which could train black teachers, artisans, and leaders, examples who could lead their own people to better moral, physical, and mental habits. He then fashioned a curriculum designed to inculcate a sense of

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[6]SCA,"From the Beginning," in Memories of Old Hampton, 3-5; Talbot, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, 133-150; Peabody, Education for Life, 88-93; Robert F. Engs, Freedom's First Generation: Black Hampton, Virginia, 1861-1890 (Philadelphia, 1979), 139-46.

[7]SCA quoted in Peabody, Education for Life, 92.

self-reliance and independence, to graduate well-equipped teachers, and to prepare the students for lives of self-support.[8]

Hampton's charter, dated September 21, 1868, said that the school existed for "the instruction and education of youth in the various common school branches and the best method of teaching the same, and in the best mode of practical industry in its application to agriculture."[9] The curriculum fused academic and manual training in an effort to educate "the hand and the head and the heart." Armstrong believed that such a combination would produce literate, self-sufficient, trained craftsmen and teachers who would return to some of the South's poorest communities as agents of progress. Armstrong hoped that Hampton graduates would "go out and teach and lead their people" and "teach respect for labor."[10]

Ten years after its establishment, Hampton admitted its first American Indian students, former prisoners of war

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[8]Memories of Old Hampton, 6-12; Talbot, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, 154-57, 159-60; SCA, "From the Beginning," in Memories of Old Hampton, 5-7; HWL, ed., Ten Years' Work for Indians at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia, 1878-1888 (Hampton, 1888), 8-9; Peabody, Education for Life, 96; Tingey, "Indians and Blacks Together," 62-70; Robinson, "The History of Hampton Institute, 1868-1949," 57-67.

[9]"An Act to Incorporate the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia, Approved June 4, 1870," in Peabody, Education for Life, Appendix Two, p. 336-39.

[10]Peabody, Education for Life, 95-126.

brought to Hampton by Richard Henry Pratt. Hampton's Indian program too attempted to provide its students with "an education for life" through a program structured to train "the head, the hand, and heart." Academic course work, manual training, and Christian education were thus combined, and service to society was emphasized. Hampton's motto, "To Lead and to Serve," reflected its founder's belief that both races attending Hampton could be elevated by their educated leadership.[11]

Many skeptics were doubtful that Indians could be educated. Still others questioned the wisdom of educating Indian youth in a black institution. Maybe Armstrong hoped to prove Hampton's doubters wrong. He may also have agreed to accept Pratt's prisoners of war to bolster Hampton's financial fortunes. In either case, the decision changed the way Indians were formally educated. Hampton's apparent success led to establishment of Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1879 and a host of other off-reservation boarding schools that attempted to mimic Armstrong's well-rounded course of study.

Previous studies of American Indian education have not paid attention to the forgotten voices of American Indian students.[12] Relevant oral history collections,

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[11]Mary Lou Hultgren and Paulette Fairbanks Molin, To Lead and to Serve (Virginia Beach, VA, 1989), 6.

[12]R. David Edmunds, "Native Americans, New Voices: American Indian History, 1895-1995," American Historical

autobiographical materials, government documents, and archival holdings await interested researchers. Hampton University's holdings are an example of the wide array of sources available to historians. From 1878 until 1923 some 1,451 American Indians (518 females, 933 males) from sixty-five different tribes attended the historically black institution.[13] Fearful of losing government funds, school officials maintained detailed files on every Indian student who attended the school. Today individual student files include: biography sheets, photographs, outing reports, letters to and from faculty and friends, admission applications, newspaper clippings, disciplinary logs, scholarship letters, government documents, tribal legends and histories, student speeches, and countless other autobiographical sources. Archival holdings, like Hampton University's rich collection, make it possible for scholars to survey both the positive and negative features of boarding school life. Students have much to say about their education, faculty members, fellow students, federal government policies, and life after returning to the reservation.[14]

Review 100 (June 1995), 735.

[13]Seventy-three percent of Hampton's Indian students came from seven tribes (Cherokee, Chippewa, Omaha, Oneida, Sioux, and Winnebago). For a complete list of Indians who attended Hampton consult Appendix A.

[14]Donal Lindsey, Mary Lou Hultgren, Paulette Fairbanks Molin, Margaret Rosten Muir, and Joseph Willard Tingey note

Previous studies of Indian education have too often emphasized the repeated attempts by missionaries, humanitarians, and federal officials to transform and destroy Indian culture. A disproportionate amount of scholarship also discusses government policies and the institutional histories of boarding schools while very little has been written about how native scholars saw things.[15] As a result, noted Gordon Macgregor, "students of the impact have been more concerned with the nature and extent of cultural loss and resultant social and psychological maladjustment of individuals than with the

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that 1,388 Indians attended Hampton. They arrived at the figure by counting tribal cards located in the Hampton University archives. The cards listed only those Indians placed on the government list. Indians staying only a brief time, children who came to Hampton with their parents, and some work-study students were not counted. My figure of 1,451 includes every Indian who attended Hampton between 1878 and 1923.

[15]Robert Trennert, The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona (Norman, 1988); Margaret Szasz Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination, 1928-1973 (Albuquerque, 1974) and Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607-1783 (Albuquerque, 1988); Francis Paul Prucha, Churches and the Indian Schools (Lincoln, 1979) and Americanizing the American Indian (Cambridge, MA, 1973; reprint, Lincoln, 1978); Robert Berkhofer, Jr., Salvation and the Savage (Lexington, KY, 1965). Sally Hyer captured a wide array of student experiences at the Santa Fe Indian School in One House, One Voice, One Heart (Santa Fe, NM, 1990). Mary Lou Hultgren and Paulette Fairbanks Molin published a similar work for Hampton Institute entitled To Lead and To Serve (Virginia Beach, VA, 1989). Their very thorough study briefly discusses the history of Hampton's biracial experiment and includes excellent photographs of the school's Indian pupils.

process of Indian groups becoming restructured communities."[16]

Only recently have historians started to investigate the positive and negative experiences of Indians who attended boarding schools. Michael Coleman, author of American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930, examined 100 autobiographies written by American Indians who later wrote about their educational experience.[17] Though far from a representative sampling, Coleman's study shed light on a neglected aspect of Indian education. He investigated various student motivations for attending school, the many ways Indians resisted and rebelled during their stay, and how pupils survived the "re-entry shock" of returning to their reservations. Another scholar, K. Tsianina Lomawaima, interviewed students who had attended Chilocco Indian School from 1920 to 1940 for her book, They Called It Prairie Light.[18] As of yet, however, no historian has analyzed the

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[16]Gordon Macgregor, "Changing Society: The Teton Dakotas," in The Modern Sioux, ed. Ethel Nurge (Lincoln, 1970), 92-106 at 92.

[17]Michael Coleman, American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930 (Jackson, MS, 1993). David Wallace Adams presents a general overview of the aims of education reformers and the reactions of Indian students in Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928 (Lawrence, KS, 1995).

[18]K. Tsianina Lomawaima, They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School (Lincoln, 1994). In his book, To Change Them Forever (Norman, 1996), Clyde Ellis discussed the history of the Rainy Mountain School located on the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Reservation in western Oklahoma.

positive and negative reactions of every Indian student who attended one particular school.

Previous studies of Hampton Institute's Indian program have also failed to illuminate the wide range and diversity of student experiences.[19] Donal Lindsey, author of Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923, devoted far too much attention on how educators sought to transform native culture in order to promote sectional reconciliation following the Civil War. In fact, the first third of his book focuses almost exclusively on Samuel Chapman Armstrong, Hampton's founder. Lindsey, heavily influenced by August Meier's anti-Hampton bias, also depicted Indian and black Hamptonians as victims of an oppressive ideology that attempted to turn them into politically-contented and socially-manageable graduates. Such a view, however, dismissed the possibility that many pupils arrived at Hampton with their own agendas. Both Indian and black Hamptonians found creative ways to accept or reject the school's teachings. They were not helpless pawns in the

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[19]William H. Robinson, "Indian Education at Hampton Institute," in Keith L. Schall, ed. Stony the Road (Charlottesville, VA, 1977), 1-33; Robinson, The History of Hampton Institute, 1868-1949;" Tingey, "Indians and Blacks Together: An Experiment in Biracial Education at Hampton Institute (1878-1923);" Margaret Rosten Muir, "Indian Education at Hampton Institute and Federal Indian Policy: Solutions to the Indian Problem," (M.A. Thesis, Brown University, 1970); Deidre Ann Almeida, "The Role of Western Massachusetts in the Development of American Indian Education Reform Through Hampton Institute's Summer Outing Program (1878-1912)," (Ed.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1992).

hands of racist educators. Some students recognized that Hampton's course of study could help them obtain employment. Others decided to use their training to help less acculturated Indians adjust to reservation conditions.[20]

Lindsey also superimposed a theoretical framework regarding the education of blacks in the post-bellum South onto data relating to Hampton's program for Indians. As a result, he could not shed the opinion that the school was part of a plot by northern industrialists and southern politicians to educate a contented and segregated labor force. As one might expect, he utilized material critical of Hampton and its faculty, but neglected to probe the positive aspects of the school and its curriculum. Moreover, he never considered the possibility that Hampton officials acted out of genuinely or even mixed humanitarian motives. Although many of their methods appear to be Eurocentric and misguided to contemporary researchers, Armstrong and his successors sincerely believed that their actions would solve the nation's "Indian problem." The

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[20]Alice Littlefield, "The B.I.A. Boarding School: Theories of Resistance and Social Reproduction," Humanity and Society 13 (1989), 428-41. Lindsey borrowed heavily from August Meier, Negro Thought in America (Ann Arbor, MI, 1963); James Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935 (Chapel Hill, NC, 1988); Robert F. Engs, "Red, Black and White: A Study of Intellectual Inequality," in Region, Race, and Reconstruction, Ed. J. Morgan Kousser and James McPherson (New York, 1982), 241-265; Donald Spivey, Schooling for the New Slavery (Westport, CT, 1979).

reformers also felt that they were working in the Indians' best interests.[21]

Lindsey also dismissed the fact that Hampton's course of study helped many Indians secure employment or assist their people during a difficult period of transition. He rejected the notion that educated Indians could serve as cultural brokers who helped bridged the gaps separating Indians, whites, and blacks.[22] Lindsey's study failed to demonstrate that "Indian people at boarding schools were not passive consumers of an ideology or lifestyle imparted from above by federal administrators." In her book, They Called It Prairie Light, K. Tsianina Lomawaima noted that Indians "actively created an ongoing educational and social process. They marshalled personal and shared skills and resources to create a world within the confines of boarding school life . . . In the process, an institution founded and controlled by

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[21]Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, xiii, 51, 73; Richard N. Ellis, "The Humanitarian Generals," Western Historical Quarterly 3 (April 1972): 169-78; Robert Winston Mardock, The Reformers and the Indian (Columbia, MO, 1971).

[22]Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 209-19. He refuses to accept the findings of Margaret Connell Szasz, ed., Between Indian and White Worlds (Norman, 1994); Frances E. Karttunen, Between Worlds (New Brunswick, NJ, 1994); Nancy L. Hegedorn, "'A Friend to go Between Them': The Interpreter as Cultural Broker During Anglo-Iroquois Councils, 1740-70," Ethnohistory 35 (Winter 1988), 60-80; Yashudie Kawashima, "Forest Diplomats: The Role of Interpreters in Indian-white relations on the Early American Frontier," American Indian Quarterly 13 (1989), 1-14; Daniel K. Richter, "Cultural Broker and Intercultural Politics: New York-Iroquois Relations, 1664-1701," Journal of American History 75 (June 1988), 4-67.

the federal government was inhabited and possessed by those whose identities the institution was committed to erase."[23] Despite their best efforts, educators failed in their attempt to manufacture civilized and obedient souls. The reformers' failure to achieve their goals was due in great part to Indian peoples' commitment to the idea of themselves. Lomawaima demonstrated that Indian people, as individuals and community members, repeatedly made their own decisions, according to their own values. "In the process," she concluded, "they have created spaces of resistance within the often oppressive conditions of education, evangelism, employment, and federal paternalism."[24]

Despite his sweeping generalizations about Indians at Hampton, Lindsey failed to examine the entire range of faculty-student correspondence. Nor did he plumb every student file in Hampton University's rich collection. Lindsey has defended these omissions by noting that the numerous autobiographical articles printed in The Southern Workman and Talks and Thoughts, student letters written while at Hampton, Indian speeches, and other archival material merely verbalized Hampton officials' Eurocentric themes and theories of accommodation. As a result, the

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[23]Lomawaima, They Called It Prairie Light, 167; see also Celia Haig-Brown, Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential Boarding School (Vancouver, 1988); James C. Scott, Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance (New Haven, 1985).

[24]Lomawaima, They Called It Prairie Light, 99.

independent thought of Indians at Hampton was "rarely preserved." While Lindsey's comments regarding student speeches and letters published in The Southern Workman and Talks and Thoughts were accurate, he failed to appreciate that independent thought did take place. Nor did he consider the possibility that some Indian students may have enjoyed their Hampton experience. Quite often, the letters of these students, written long after they had left the school, corroborated their earlier sentiments. Moreover, bolder students demonstrated independent thought and frequently expressed their dissatisfaction with Hampton's biracial experiment. Others spoke with their feet and ran away or rebelled during their stay. In addition, many returned students expressed their dislike of Hampton after leaving the school. Because he ignored such evidence, Lindsey failed to appreciate that Indians were not intellectual robots who parroted the sentiments of racist educators.[25]

Lindsey was determined to attack Hampton's highly touted experiment in Indian education. As a result, he failed to discuss key components of the school's Indian program. For one, he largely ignored Hampton's outing system, a key part of the school's assimilationist curriculum. Nor did he discuss student experiences while working in New England. Lindsey also provided very little

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[25]Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, xii-xiii.

information about the Fort Marion Indians and only briefly mentioned the school's pioneering program for Indian families. As a result, no scholar has fully explored the positive and negative experiences of American Indians who attended Hampton from 1878 until 1923.

Only by stepping into the shoes of Hampton's native American students can one appreciate their accomplishments. Theirs is a tragic story, but it is also a tale of triumph. Despite all that happened to them, Indian students won the battle for their hearts and minds: they never stopped being Indians. "Bridging the Cultural Divide" attempts to tell their story. It chronicles the diverse experiences of Indian students who struggled to make sense of a world that had been turned upside down.[26]

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[26]Steven Polgar, "Biculturation of Mesquakie Teenage Boys," American Anthropologist 62 (1960), 217-35. In his study of two teenage Foxes, Polgar identifies a process of biculturation, or enculturation into two cultures, developing personalities that fit a situation of stabilized pluralism.

Chapter I

Beating Swords into Plowshares: The Fort Marion Experiment

The Indian prisoners did not recognize the ominous noise of metal striking metal emanating from the agency shops. For a time it seemed as if the obnoxious clanging would never end. It was a busy April 1875 afternoon at Fort Sill, located in the heart of Indian Territory. While blacksmiths hammered the heavy steel shackles and leg-irons into shape, the fort's carpenters prepared specially outfitted army wagons for the American Indians detained at the frontier outpost. Finally, after an exhausting day's work, the alleged "ringleaders" were herded into the wagons which set out for Caddo, an isolated railroad stop located 165 miles east of Fort Sill. It was an ironic beginning for what would later become a pioneering experiment in American Indian education.

By the late 1860s, war-weary Americans demanded that their civilian and military leaders pursue peaceful alternatives in their unending quest to subdue the restless western tribes. Other citizens, concerned about the

skyrocketing costs of frontier expeditions, urged their elected officials to demonstrate fiscal responsibility when much of the war-torn South needed financial assistance. A vocal segment of the voting public now urged policymakers to implement peaceful measures designed to conquer American Indians through kindness instead of wasting large sums attempting to crush the rebellious tribes. Reformers contended that books would succeed where the cavalry's bullets had failed. Education, argued critics of federal Indian policies, would transform potentially hostile adversaries into law-abiding neighbors. Bullets, on the other hand, would only kill those natives fighting to preserve their ancestral lands.[1]

During the 1860s, railroads crisscrossed the tribes' best hunting grounds, leaving towns and streams of settlers in their tracks. Worst of all, the newcomers decimated the buffalo herds, the staff of life for the Plains Indians. As the resistance of western Indian nations began to wane, policy makers slowly heeded the reformers' calls. By the late 1860s, President Grant and the military brass abandoned the policy of conquest in favor of new programs designed to improve worsening conditions along the frontier. They believed that rations, schools, Christianity, and the

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[1]Lawrie Tatum, Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of Ulysses S. Grant (Lincoln, 1970), vi-x; Robert Utley, "The Celebrated Peace Policy of General Grant," North Dakota History 20 (July 1953), 121-42. Tatum, a devout Quaker, was the Kiowa-Comanche agent from 1869 until 1873.

imposition of an agrarian way of life could succeed where other policies had failed. Despite the reformers' good intentions, however, the native peoples were not pacified.[2]

President Grant's peace policy produced fewer than expected results. Ironically, frontier warfare increased during the years of Grant's administration as embittered natives desperately fought to turn back the invaders. Indians on the southern Plains especially resisted the intrusions into their best hunting territory. The bison, once numbering in the millions, were now on the verge of extermination. American hunters, traders, and industrialists joined forces to slaughter the dwindling supply of life-giving beasts. Something had to be done to stop them.[3]

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[2]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, Ed. Robert M. Utley (New Haven, 1964; reprint, Lincoln, NB, 1987), xiii; Donald J. Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes (Norman, 1963), 405; Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, The Comanches: Lords of the Southern Plains (Norman, 1952), 328; Arrell Morgan Gibson, "The St. Augustine Prisoners," Red River Valley Historical Review 3 (Spring 1978), 259-60. Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahos consented to reservations at the Council of the Little Arkansas in 1865. American pioneers ignored the treaty-assigned reservations and hunters wantonly slaughtered the region's buffalo. To avoid problems federal officials removed the Indians to smaller reservations in 1869.

[3]William F. Leckie, The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains (Norman, 1963), 133-235; Robert M. Utley, Frontier Regulars: The U.S. Army and the Indian, 1866-1891 (New York, 1973), 207-33; William T. Hagan, United States-Comanche Relations: The Reservation Years (Norman, 1990), 105-119.

The situation along the Texas Panhandle was especially troublesome. Angry Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, Caddo, and Arapaho warriors determined to fight for their lands. Led by aggressive headmen such as Satanta, Lone Wolf, and Satank, these Indians refused to stay confined to the reservation assigned to them by the Treaty of Medicine Lodge Creek. After a protracted series of military engagements during the 1870s, the United States Army eventually subdued the hostile tribes. Eager to make the best of a bad situation, tribal leaders signed a treaty ending the Red River War in 1875.[4]

To restore order on the "Staked Plains" (a well-defined plateau of lush prairies of the Texas panhandle) and to ensure the tranquility and cooperation of potentially rebellious bands, General Philip Sheridan, commander of military forces west of the Mississippi, issued orders to detain all natives who had organized or participated in frontier raids during the Red River War. Warriors who had fought to preserve their ancient customs and cherished homelands felt the fury of white justice. Hoping to prevent future violence on the southern Plains, Sheridan made an example of the belligerent chiefs and warriors by banishing

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[4]Gibson, "The St. Augustine Prisoners," 262-63; Charles W. Harris, "The Red River War of 1874-1875: The End of an Era on the Great Plains," Red River Valley Historical Review 3 (Spring 1978), 271-76; James L. Haley, The Buffalo War (Norman, 1985), 37-209; Francis Paul Prucha, The Great Father, 2 vols. (Lincoln, 1984), 1: 535-36; Tatum, Our Red Brothers, 189-193.

them "to some remote eastern military fort, so far away from their home and so restrained that any violence will be impossible."[5]

Because the United States was not officially at war with the western tribes, the accused "ringleaders" could not be tried by a military court. Nor did government officials deem it wise to turn the prisoners over to state and territorial authorities because the antagonistim of the frontier precluded the possibility of a fair trial. As an alternative, military leaders suggested banishing the hostile natives to Florida, far removed from friends and family in the West. Sending the warriors to the dungeons of old Fort Marion would, argued policy makers, generate a pacifying effect upon the captives' friends and relatives.[6]

Agent John Miles and military officers stationed at Fort Sill had the difficult task of identifying the Indian ringleaders. Government leaders also asked Catherine and

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[5]RHP, "American Indians; Chained and Unchained: Being an Account of How the Carlisle Indian School was Born and Grew In Its First 25 Years," The Red Man 6 (June 1914), 394-95; RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 92; CMF, "Indian Days at Hampton," unpublished manuscript, 1918, HUA, 1; HWL, "Twelve Years' Work for the Indians," in Twenty-Two Years' Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Va. (Hampton, 1893), 310; Ralph Andrist, The Long Death (New York, 1976), 201; Wilbur S. Nye, Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill (Norman, 1937), 213-31; Daniel Chapman, "The Great White Father's Little Red Indian School," American Heritage 22 (December 1970), 48-49; Francis Peabody, Education for Life (New York, 1926), 146-47.

[6]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 104-105; RHP, "American Indians; Chained and Unchained," 396.

Sophia German, the two oldest surviving members of a family butchered during the Red River War, to help identify those warriors responsible for murdering their parents and siblings. The young women, however, recognized only four warriors who had participated in their family's demise. As a result, leaders of the Kiowa and Comanche peace factions had the unwelcome task of identifying friends and relatives for banishment. Kicking Bird (Tay-nay-Angopte), acknowledged by federal officials as principal chief of the Kiowa (in place of the detained Lone Wolf), initially refused demands to single out Kiowa warriors. Later, after government agents contacted the chief's rival, a more compliant Kicking Bird identified the notoriously guilty Kiowa raiders--White Horse, Maman-ti, and Lone Wolf. Once the peace chief had designated a few prominent warriors and chiefs, however, Kicking Bird then filled in his tribe's quota with obscure younger tribesmen and Mexican captives. Horseback, chief of the Nokoni Comanches, repeated the process for his own people.[7]

In the case of the Cheyennes, army officers merely designated a few principal chiefs and warriors known to have participated in frontier raids. Cheyenne chiefs Gray Beard,

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[7]James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," in Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1895-96 (Washington, D.C., 1898), Part 1, 129-400; Tatum, Our Red Brothers, 193-95; Haley, The Buffalo War, 213-214; Wilbur S. Nye, Plains Indian Raiders (Norman, 1968), 176-77, 238-39; Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes, 398-403.

Black Horse, Heap-of-Birds, Bear Shield, and Minimic were detained for banishment. Warrior ringleaders identified among the Cheyenne included Medicine Water, Long Black, Big Moccasin, and Howling Wolf, Chief Minimic's son. Satisfied that they had the guilty in custody, army officers then randomly filled out the Cheyenne quota.[8]

The final contingent of 73 prisoners included 27 Kiowas, 33 Cheyennes, 9 Comanches, 2 Arapahos, and 1 Caddo. One Indian woman, the wife of Black Horse, second chief of the Quohada Comanche, threw her arms around her husband and refused to let him go. The officer in charge, after a making futile attempt to pry the grieving woman away from Black Horse, permitted "Mother," Pe-ah-in, and her daughter, Ah-kes, to accompany the chief during his confinement. Another Indian woman, Buffalo Calf (Mo-chi), a middle-aged Cheyenne, also traveled with the party. Unlike the other two women, Buffalo Calf (Mo-chi) was a prisoner of war. Reporters accused Mo-chi of "having killed a white woman and eaten her heart." Sophia German, an eyewitness to her own parents' execution, singled out Buffalo Calf as the person responsible for decapitating her mother with an axe.[9]

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[8]Agent John D. Miles, April 29, 1875, to Earl P. Smith, Washington, DC, National Archives RG 75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, quoted in Cohoe, A Cheyenne Sketchbook (Norman, 1971), 5-6; RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 138-44.

[9]R. Williams, Assistant Adjutant General, Headquarters, Department of the Missouri, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, May 19, 1875, in Joe F. Taylor, ed., "The Indian Campaign on the Staked Plains, 1874-1875: Military Correspondence from War

Pratt's Fort Marion Party

Richard Henry Pratt drew the unwelcome assignment of escorting the incarcerated Plains Indians to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.[10] Unfortunately for the young lieutenant, he would not return to his former job of commanding Indian scouts. Much to his chagrin, he received word from his superiors "to take the party to Florida and remain in charge."[11] Pratt did not welcome the appointment. As late as April 1875, he argued that "some of them [Indian

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Department Adjutant General's Office, File 2815-1874, Part II" Panhandle-Plains Historical Review 35 (1962), 285, 287-88; RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 69ff, 97, 104-105, 140, 144; Elaine Goodale Eastman, Pratt: The Red Man's Moses (Norman, 1935), 48-49; Nye, Carbine and Lance, 231; Haley, The Buffalo War, 143-46. One unidentified black male also accompanied the Comanche prisoners during their stay. Tatum reported that the two Arapaho prisoners were innocent. They had been "cut off" of the line by the military officer without investigating the charge against them. Tatum, Our Red Brothers, 195.

[10]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, ix-xi; 104-105; RHP, "American Indians; Chained and Unchained," 396; Gibson, "The St. Augustine Prisoners," 264. Richard Henry Pratt was born on December 6, 1840, at Rushford, New York. He enlisted in the army in April 1861 . In 1867 he was appointed a second lieutenant in the Tenth United States Cavalry, an all-black regiment commanded by white officers. A short time later Pratt was transferred to Fort Arbuckle, Indian Territory, where he commanded Cherokee, Choctaw, Osage, and Tonkawa scouts. Pratt's frontier years acquainted him with the plight of two minority races and convinced him that the Indians had to embrace American life and institutions or risk extermination. See David Wallace Adams, Education for Extinction (Lawrence, KS, 1995), 38; Richard N. Ellis, "The Humanitarian Soldiers," Journal of Arizona History 10 (Summer 1969), 53-66; Ellis, "The Humanitarian Generals," Western Historical Quarterly 3 (April 1972), 169-78.

[11]RHP, "American Indians; Chained and Unchained," 396.

prisoners] ought to be tried and executed here in the presence of their people."[12]

The young officer now confronted the daunting task of transferring the seventy-two Plains Indian prisoners temporarily jailed at Fort Leavenworth to Fort Marion in Florida.[13] The situation was hardly the seedbed for a pioneering experiment in American Indian education. Caroline Andrus, an early member of Hampton Institute's faculty, noted: "They [Indian prisoners] were taken in chains. They were filled with hate and feelings of deepest revenge for the wrongs which they had undergone . . . They wore only their Indian blankets and great brass rings in their ears. No one understood English."[14] Bear's Heart, a Cheyenne captive, recalled the fear he felt during the long journey east: "When I ride to Florida all the time I think by and by he [Pratt] kill me."[15] It would take a miracle to

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[12]RHP, "American Indians; Chained and Unchained," 394-95; RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, Ernest Wallace, Ranald S. Mackenzie on the Texas Frontier (College Station, TX, 1993), 170; Lieutenant R.H. Pratt, Fort Sill, Ind. TY., April 26, 1875, to General P.H. Sheridan, in Taylor, ed., "The Indian Campaign," 280.

[13]E.D. Townsend, Special Orders No. 88, War Department, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, D.C., May 11, 1875, in Taylor, ed., The Indian Campaign," 282-83; RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 109-110.

[14]Caroline Andrus, Indian Correspondent, Hampton Institute, in John C. Walton, Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin no. 27 (Washington, D.C., 1923), 89.

[15]Bear's Heart, "Indian Talk," SW 9 (July 1880), 77.

win the confidence of former adversaries who feared that their military escort would soon execute them.[16]

The prisoners dreaded the long train ride to Fort Marion. Two defiant Indians decided that it was better to die than languish in some distant military prison. Lean Bear, a Cheyenne captive "who had become crazed by the excitement of the trip," attempted to commit suicide during the journey. On one occasion he repeatedly stabbed himself with a pen knife until armed escorts disarmed him. In another act of resistance, Lean Bear was shot while attempting to take a guard's rifle. Believing the rebellious Cheyenne was at death's door, Pratt left a military escort at Nashville to bury Lean Bear. To the guard's amazement, however, the "crazed" Cheyenne rallied and was later forwarded to St. Augustine, where a depressed Lean Bear determined to starve himself to death rather than remain at Fort Marion.[17]

Another reluctant captive, Gray Beard, a prominent Cheyenne chief, attempted to evade his captors by jumping

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[16]RHP, "American Indians; Chained and Unchained," 395; CMF, "Indian Days at Hampton," HUA, 1; Andrist, The Long Death, 201-203.

[17]RHP, Nashville, TN, May 19, 1875, to Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the South, Louisville, KY, in Taylor, ed., "The Indian Campaign," 284; RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 140; RHP, "American Indians; Chained and Unchained," 396; HWL, "Twelve Years' Work for the Indians," in Twenty-Two Years' Work, 310; RHP, "The Outing System At Carlisle," in RCIA (1891), House Executive Document no. 1, part 5, 52d Cong., 1st sess., serial 2934, 594.

through an open window of the slow-moving train as it approached a railroad station near Houston, Florida. But he could not outrun a hailstorm of bullets as he bolted across the railroad tracks for the safety of nearby farm fields. With his last few breaths, he defiantly told his captors that he preferred death to being chained and separated from his family.[18]

The Indians, their white warden, and two interpreters, Romeo and George Fox, arrived at Fort Marion on May 21, 1875.[19] The long journey east, the emotional despair caused by the separation from family and friends, the depressing effect of being in leg irons and chains, and the tropical climate of Florida resulted in considerable sickness and death. A frightened Pratt remarked that "the severe circumstances of their imprisonment and their being taken so far away from their homes made these Indians almost lose hope, and that, added to the change from their western life

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[18]RHP, Baldwin, FL, May 21, 1875, to Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the South, Louisville, KY, in Taylor, ed., "The Indian Campaign," 285; RHP, "The Outing System at Carlisle," RCIA (1891), serial 2934, 594; HWL, "Twelve Years' Work for the Indians," in Twenty-Two Tears' Work, 310; RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 113-115, 140; Eastman, Pratt, 50-51; Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes, 403; Wichita Eagle [Kansas], May 22, 1875.

[19]The Castillo de San Marcos, built by the Spanish between 1672 and 1696, was a symmetrically shaped, four-sided fort constructed of coquina blocks. After Florida passed to the United States (1821), the casemate was renamed Fort Marion and served as an army post. In 1924 the fort became a national monument. RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 112-115, 117ff.

and its fine dry air to the close confinement within the casemate's and high-walled area of the old Spanish fort in the humidity and heat of that southern climate, affected their health so that a number of them sickened and died within a few months."[20]

Life at Fort Marion

The seventy Indian captives, many of whom sang death songs during their long exodus, had a difficult time adjusting to their Florida home. Pratt, who had once advocated executing hostile natives, now hoped to become the instrument of his charges' rehabilitation as "civilized" men and women. He boldly announced that much could be done to "reform these young men while under this banishment." Pratt later wrote that "I had suggested to General Sheridan that while under this banishment they should be industrially trained, educated, and civilized so far as possible, so that if returned to their people they would go back as influences for good."[21]

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[20]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 97, 118, 138-44; RHP, "American Indians; Chained and Unchained," 396; RHP, "The Outing System at Carlisle," RCIA (1891), serial 2934, 595; Gibson, "St. Augustine Prisoners," 265. Big Moccasin (Cheyenne), Lean Bear (Cheyenne), Straightening an Arrow (Kiowa), Sun (Kiowa) and Mahmante (Kiowa) all died shortly after reaching Florida. These tragedies played a key role in changing Pratt's opinion of his Indian prisoners. He recognized that if something was not done to counter the captives' depression many more Indians would die.

[21]RHP, "American Indians; Chained and Unchained," 397; RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 107; Cohoe, Cheyenne Sketchbook, 7. Pratt's intimate association with his native prisoners brought about a change of heart. He now viewed

Fearful that more Indians would die, Pratt countered the prevailing atmosphere of desperation and hopelessness by removing his charges' shackles, implementing a regular work, exercise, and drill routine, and improving living conditions at the ancient fort. He also cut the natives' long hair and made them don military-style uniforms. After putting up resistance to the warden's new regulations, some Indian captives fashioned their own apparel by cutting off the trousers at the hip, laying aside the upper part and using the trouser legs as leggings in the Indian fashion (something Pratt quickly put a stop to). Bear's Heart noted that "Capt. Pratt he gave us Indians clothes just like white men, but Indians no want hair cut."[22]

On one occasion, Pratt sent an ailing prisoner north for special treatment. Howling Wolf, the son of Minimic, experienced severe eye trouble during the spring of 1876. In an effort to remedy the young man's deteriorating vision, Pratt secured the services of a local physician. But to the warden's dismay, the doctor applied a caustic substance to Howling Wolf's eyes and very nearly blinded him. After repeated appeals to the War Department, Pratt received permission to send Howling Wolf to the Massachusetts Eye and Ear Hospital. Although the excursion was arranged for

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them as human beings who needed his assistance.

[22]Bear's Heart, "Indian Talk," 77; RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 118.

health reasons, Pratt later noted that he gained authorization to send the young Cheyenne prisoner to Boston only after informing his superiors that Howling Wolf's stay in New England might also produce "civilizing" effects.[23]

Once Pratt perceived that his native charges would not attempt to flee, he allowed considerable liberty within the walls of the ancient castillo.[24] "Feeling they were secure in the old fort," he noted, "and that the great distance from their homes convinced them of the impossibility of escape, I soon removed their irons."[25] As the mood of his captives continued to improve, Pratt eventually dismissed the soldier guards, organized younger prisoners into military companies, and permitted the Indians to police themselves. Pratt noticed the Indians' distrust of the soldier guards who had shot and killed Gray Beard, and staked his military commission on the prisoners' ability to maintain order and discipline without armed guards. The natives did not disappoint him. "For more than two years

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[23]RHP to Doctor, April 19, 1876, box 19, folder 493a; A. Caruthers, to Richard Henry Pratt, August 9, 1877, box 2, folder 52, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, cited in Joyce Szabo, Howling Wolf and the History of Ledger Art (Albuquerque, 1994), 90-92; "Howling Wolf," Massachusetts Eye and Ear 1 (June 1970), 4-6.

[24]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 118; Nye, Carbine and Lance, 250-51.

[25]RHP, "American Indians; Chained and Unchained," 397.

and a half," attested Pratt, "the Indian prisoners guarded the fort without martial breach of discipline."[26]

Pratt also arranged for several camping expeditions on Anastasia Island or at Matanzas Inlet, some sixteen miles south of the prison. During these frequent excursions the Indians engaged in intertribal contests, learned how to build log houses, and hunted the shark-shaped "water buffalo." Such trips also fostered a spirit of camaraderie among the warden and his former enemies. In addition, activities outside the high walls of Fort Marion bolstered the prisoners' morale, relieved the monotony of their confinement, and most importantly, dramatically improved the health of all of those who participated. "Matanzas Inlet became something of a sanatorium for ailing prisoners," declared Pratt, "and several times, on the advice of the army medical officer, small parties were sent there for a week or so of encampment to recuperate."[27] Deathly ill

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[26]RHP, Fort Marion, St. Augustine, FL, July 17, 1875, to Adjutant General U.S. Army, Washington, D.C., in Taylor, ed., "The Indian Campaign," 311-12; RHP, "American Indians; Chained and Unchained," 397. Pratt relied on the authority of captive chiefs, especially Minimic (Cheyenne), to maintain order at Fort Marion. See RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 119-120, 177-78; CMF, "Indian Days at Hampton," HUA, 1-2; Eastman, Pratt, 53-58; William Heuman, The Indians of Carlisle (New York, 1965), 27-33; Stan Hoig, The Peace Chiefs of the Cheyennes (Norman, 1980), 157-61.

[27]RHP, "American Indians; Chained and Unchained," 398; RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 124-27; Taylor, ed., "The Indian Campaign," 335, 340-41. General William Tecumseh Sherman approved the expeditions despite his personal view that "in the end I fear these Indians will betray his confidence." See W.T. Sherman, Washington, D.C., April 25,

patients ventured to the island to depart this life. On one occasion, Straitening an Arrow (Th-pa-yah), a young Kiowa captive, died during his stay on the island and received a proper burial "according to their [Kiowa] custom."[28]

Trying to instill the "habits of industry," Pratt encouraged the Indian prisoners to collect "sea beans" (a hard shell found along the Florida coast). Bear's Heart later noted that Pratt "got sea beans, he give every Indians two sea beans, he say make sea-bean shine, he told us how when we make sea bean good we take to him, he give us money."[29] Local curio dealers paid the Fort Marion Indians ten cents for each finished shell, which they then sold to northern tourists for a profit. Approximately 16,000 beans were sold during the first few months of confinement, netting the Indian captives a tidy sum of $1,600. The hard-working prisoners used the proceeds to purchase much needed clothes and supplies. They also fashioned toy bows and arrows, beadwork, drawing books, and other native crafts for the casement's frequent visitors.[30]

1876, in Taylor, ed., "The Indian Campaign," 333-34.

[28]RHP, Fort Marion, St. Augustine, FL, October 5, 1875, to Adjutant General U.S. Army, in Taylor, ed., "The Indian Campaign," 333-34.

[29]Bear's Heart, "Indian Talk," 77.

[30]RHP, "American Indians; Chained and Unchained," 398; RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 119, 125,; Gibson, "St. Augustine Prisoners," 268-69; Harriet Beecher Stowe, "The Indians at St. Augustine," The Christian Union 15 (1877), 345, 372.

"Later, when they accepted their banishment," wrote Pratt, some of the Indians were even allowed to work outside the confines of the fort. Five captives grubbed palmetto land, preparing it for an orange grove owned by a northern dentist. Other Fort Marion prisoners cared for horses, milked cows, and operated a bakery within the casemate's walls. One ambitious lad assisted a baggage man on the Tocoi Railroad during the peak winter season. Still others labored in a St. Augustine sawmill. A few of Pratt's charges even helped Smithsonian Institution archaeologists excavate Indian effigy mounds near St. Augustine.[31]

Pratt also provided his prisoners with paper, pencils, and colors and suggested that they create drawings to sell to souvenir-hungry tourists. Sidney Lanier, a prominent literary figure who visited Fort Marion, observed that the prisoners "have a passion for trying their skills in drawing and are delighted with a gift of paper and pencil."[32] Twenty-seven of the Fort Marion captives participated in the project, producing more than 750 sketches. The ledger drawings, typically outlined in pencil and colored in crayon or watercolor, represented the dawning of a new American Indian art form. Although the pieces may have been

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[31]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 128-30, 153; RHP, "American Indians; Chained and Unchained," 397; RHP, "The Outing System at Carlisle," RCIA (1891), serial 2934, 595; Eastman, Pratt: The Red Man's Moses, 55.

[32]Sidney Lanier, Florida: Its Scenery, Climate, and History (Philadelphia, 1876), 53.

manufactured to be sold to vacationers or given to the warden's influential friends, the prisoners' artistic impulse may have sprung from defiance and nostalgia, from a recollection of the old days and as a protest against the process of assimilation.[33] These sketches represented the private expressions of individuals who seemed adrift in a world no longer Indian and not yet Euro-American. Many of the drawings of Etahdleuh Doanmoe (Kiowa), Howling Wolf (Cheyenne), Buffalo Meat (Cheyenne), and Zotom (Kiowa) recounted their warrior pasts. The young artists depicted scenes of the buffalo hunt, traditional Indian ceremonies, and pitched battles between warriors and the United States' cavalry. In effect, the art of the Fort Marion prisoners became a dramatic means of recapturing and preserving their past during a long period of incarceration.[34]

During proper hours, if neatly dressed, responsible captives gained permission to make purchases in town or to visit with local residents. After the natives had learned to sail and row boats, Pratt often allowed trustworthy Indian prisoners to accompany visitors on fishing expeditions. In addition to these regular visits into St.

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[33]Jamake Highwater, Song from the Earth: American Indian Painting (Boston, 1976), 34-35; Moira F. Harris, Between Two Cultures: Kiowa Art from Fort Marion (St. Paul, MN, 1989), 128.

[34]Joyce M. Szabo, Howling Wolf and the History of Ledger Art, 65-83; Karen Daniels Petersen, Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion (Norman, 1971), 65.

Augustine, Pratt also staged Indian dances at the fort for visiting tourists and local residents. Pratt later wrote that he fostered such cultural interaction in an attempt "to correct the unwarranted prejudice among our people against the Indians through race hatred and false history which tells our side and not theirs." At the same time, he also hoped to demonstrate to the Indians under his supervision that not all white people were greedy and vicious.[35]

On one rare occasion, Pratt organized a "buffalo hunt." The spectacle of Indians challenging a wild beast apparently stemmed from an ongoing argument between Pratt and local residents of St. Augustine. During one of the warden's frequent visits to town, he boasted of his former exploits, paying particular attention to coming face to face with wild animals and battle-hardened warriors of the American West. Pratt became upset when his exaggerated accounts generated nothing more than a lukewarm response from a clearly uninterested audience. The casemate's neighbors, many of them descended from St. Augustine's Spanish colonizers, reminded the army officer that in Spain men challenged angry bulls on foot, armed with nothing more than a cape and sword. Both parties eventually agreed to stage a buffalo hunt. Pratt wagered that two of the Fort

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[35]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 120; Lizzie Champney, "The Indians at San Marco," Independent 30, no. 154, June 13, 1878, 27-28; Cohoe, A Cheyenne Sketchbook, 9.

Marion Indians would kill, without the aid of a gun, any bull that the local residents provided.

The contest generated a great deal of excitement in St. Augustine. Once the bull arrived, locals converted the town's principal thoroughfare into a makeshift arena. Curious onlookers crowded the grandstands lining St. Augustine's streets to watch two warriors on horseback challenge the ornery beast and were not disappointed. The angry bull immediately charged his Cheyenne opponent, who dressed for the occasion in turkey feathers and strips of brightly colored flannel. The seasoned hunter panicked. After all, no buffalo had ever bolted at him like that before. To escape the menacing bull, the Cheyenne immediately maneuvered the startled steed to the opposite side of the arena. Meanwhile, White Horse, a young Kiowa chief and noted warrior, responded with a charge of his own. As he drew near the rampaging bull, White Horse raised his only weapon, a butcher knife, high into the air and thrust the blade deep into the back of his startled adversary, severing the bull's spinal cord. White Horse quickly dismounted, let out a triumphant screech, and proceeded to cut out a kidney, which he devoured raw to the astonishment of the packed audience. The other Fort Marion prisoners quickly joined White Horse in the feast. Fresh meat was a welcome change for natives living on a bland diet of beans and salt pork during their captivity. In what seemed like a

matter of minutes, the dead animal was reduced to a heap of bones. White Horse put on a good show. The once skeptical neighbors now conceded that they had seen "wild" Indians in action.[36]

As the spirit of the native prisoners continued to improve, they approached Pratt to help them learn rudimentary English. The warden began by writing the alphabet on one of the ancient fort's thick walls. Pratt then gave his prisoners pencil and paper and proceeded to teach them the ABCs. A short time later, two local teachers, Sarah Mather, a member of Mount Holyoke's first graduating class, and a Miss Perrit, conducted formal classes at the prison. The pair received assistance from several retired teachers who lived nearby, including Mrs. Couper Gibbs and Mrs. Kingsley Gibbs. The women spent two hours each day tutoring some fifty prisoners how to read, write, and do simple arithmetic. The spontaneous educational program proved to be a big success, culminating in four-to-six classes in operation at Fort Marion. Pratt commented that "all the young men were ambitious to learn and receive instruction."[37]

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[36]The story of the bullfight in St. Augustine was told to Wilbur S. Nye, a military officer assigned to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, by George Hunt, a Kiowa historian, interpreter, and guide. See Nye, Carbine and Lance, 251-52.

[37]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 62, 121, 171; RHP, Report of November 2, 1890, RCIA (1890), House Executive Document no. 1, part 5, 51st Cong., 2d sess., serial 2841, 308-314; RHP, St. Augustine, FL, March 17, 1876, to General

The older captives initially refused to learn, but gradually even tribal leaders and warriors began attending Sarah Mather's classes. Pratt recalled how the ability and enthusiasm of the ladies "met with good success in the way of English speaking and educational progress."[38] Pratt recognized the significance of what was taking place. Because many of the Fort Marion prisoners were chiefs and respected warriors, he realized that these students could succeed where so many other previous educational experiments had failed. Instead of being shunned after returning to their reservations, natives educated during their incarceration would reassume positions of authority.

St. Augustine's residents also organized weekly English prayer services for the Indian prisoners at Fort Marion. One of the "excellent ladies" who volunteered her services later informed Pratt that "we tried to teach them good things, to read, to count, about God, about justice and truth."[39] Black Horse, the Comanche chief detained in Florida with his wife and daughter, informed Lawrie Tatum

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P.H. Sheridan, in Taylor, ed., "The Indian Campaign," 336-37; "Story of a Brave Life," SW 17 (July 1888), 81; "Etahdeleuh Doanmoe," SW 17 (July 1888), 79.

[38]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 188; RHP, "American Indians; Chained and Unchained," 397; Lizzie Champney, "The Indians at San Marco," 27-28; J. Wells Champney, "Indian School at Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida," Harper's Weekly 22 (May 11, 1878), 373, 375; Mary D. Burnham, "Florida Indians," The Churchman, June 29, 1878, 719-20.

[39]RHP, quoted in CMF, "Indian Days at Hampton," HUA, 3-4.

that "I remember the time when we were all taken to Florida. While there the white people used to tell us what we ought to do. From them we learned about Jesus, Our Savior. At night, before retiring to bed, we used to read of the Great Spirit, and talk about Jesus."[40] Howling Wolf later reported that he learned much about the Great Spirit while detained at Fort Marion. "I asked God to take away my bad heart, and give me a good heart."[41]

Although Pratt had dreaded drawing the assignment that brought him to Florida, he never requested a transfer. All told, he remained with the prisoners he escorted for three years, trying to show his superiors, philanthropists, and a skeptical American public that "savage" Indians could be transformed into peaceful, enlightened citizens. In Pratt's eyes, the Fort Marion experiment demonstrated that the warrior could, if given the opportunity, throw off the trappings of traditional culture and embrace the tenets of mainstream American society.[42]

Samuel Chapman Armstrong, a former Union Army general and founder of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, was well aware of the Fort Marion Indians' progress. He

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[40]Lawrie Tatum, Wichita Agency, April 29, 1878, quoted in SW 7 (June 1878), 47.

[41]Tatum, Our Red Brothers, 196-97.

[42]HWL, "Twelve Years' Work," in Twenty-Two Years' Work, 311; RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, xii-xiii, 109-111, 121, 155-156; Eastman, Pratt, 58-63; Stowe, "The Indians at St. Augustine," 372.

called the educational program underway in Florida "a practical illumination of what may be done for them." After only one year of confinement, he noted, former adversaries have received "desultory instruction and are living habitually under wholesome influences, and in direct contact with a good class of whites." "These men have improved steadily," he continued, "are by no means lacking in intelligence, and show a marked desire to adopt the habits and customs of civilized men, having already become conscious of the sin and shamefulness of their past lives." But Armstrong stopped short of commenting on the lasting success of the Fort Marion program. "It is, of course, too soon to speak with certainty as to their mental power or as to their capacity for receiving moral instruction, but their present condition is hopeful, and offers real encouragement to those interested in the future of their race . . . our duty as individuals is clear enough."[43]

Apparently, the native prisoners made the most of their educational opportunities. Pratt later boasted that "most of the young men learned to write fairly intelligent letters during the three years of their imprisonment, and the English language became the common tongue among them, thus breaking down the wall of language which separates the tribes as fully between them and our own people."[44] He also

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[43]SCA, quoted in SW 5 (May 1876), 38.

[44]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 121.

noticed how the attitude of his prisoners changed during the course of their instruction at the fort. Their health began to improve and a new attitude toward their white enemies became apparent. In time, the Indian prisoners requested that their wives and children be allowed to join them in Florida. Male-Mante, a Kiowa chief, declared that "we want to learn the ways of the white men, first we want our wives and children and then we will go any place and settle down and learn to support ourselves as the white men do . . . We want to learn how to make corn and work the ground so we can make our living, and we want to live in a house just as a white man."[45]

The warden asked a skeptical Indian Bureau to approve his native charges' heartfelt plea if their release was not imminent. Pratt informed the Adjutant General that "the great majority are ready and anxious to be led in the paths of the new life which they are all convinced they must now lead."[46] Besides making a lonely exile more tolerable, Pratt believed that the family reunions would help cement the educational advances already underway at Fort Marion. When plans to reunite the families fell through, a

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[45]RHP, Fort Marion, St. Augustine, FL, June 11, 1875, to Adjutant General U.S. Army, Washington, D.C., in Taylor, ed., "The Indian Campaign," 305-306; RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 122.

[46]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 123.

determined Pratt began soliciting the support of influential friends and reform organizations.[47]

One of the Pratt's most ardent supporters, Henry B. Whipple, Minnesota's Episcopal bishop and nationally known reformer, paid Fort Marion a visit in 1876. Bishop Whipple was inspired by what he saw. He endorsed Pratt's educational efforts and informed a curious American public that the captives were an attentive audience who "seemed to hang upon my words, as if I were a messenger of life." Whipple's visit convinced him "that there is not the slightest necessity for Indian wars." Education, not warfare, he asserted, could transform hostile Plains Indians into allies.[48]

Pratt struggled to convince policy makers that educating former adversaries made sense. The St. Augustine captives were the leaders and some of the most respected members of their tribes. Pratt, therefore, fashioned a rudimentary educational program designed to prepare the Indians for their eventual return home. He longed to see educated natives leading other American Indians down "the white man's road."[49] "The duty of the Govt. to these Indians," he remarked, "seems to me to be the teaching of

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[47]Taylor, ed., "The Indian Campaign," 307, 318-20; 322.

[48]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 59, 62, 162-64; Henry Whipple letter, New York Daily Tribune, April 1, 1876.

[49]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 62.

them something that will be permanently useful to them." Pratt recalled that many of the prisoners wanted to "learn to build houses, to make boots and shoes, and to do blacksmith work, and to farm, etc."[50] "Having been the worst, because the most active element," he reasoned, "they will become the best of their people for the same reason if permitted and aided to it."[51]

As early as April 1876, Pratt proposed to send six-to-ten of "the brightest and most eager" prisoners to "some agricultural or other labor school for a thorough education." Pratt believed that three or four years of advanced academic and industrial training would transform the Indian prisoners under his care into useful examples for family and friends to imitate. Military superiors and government bureaucrats turned a sympathetic ear to the natives' pleas for a better education, yet, nothing was done to honor the impatient warden's request. Two more years passed before any concrete plans were finally put into motion.[52]

During the Indians' last year of confinement, Pratt inquired whether any of his Fort Marion charges wanted to

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[50]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 167; RHP, Fort Marion, St. Augustine, FL, June 29, 1875, to General E.D. Townsend, Adjutant General U.S. Army, Washington, D.C., in Taylor, ed., "The Indian Campaign," 309-10.

[51]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 170.

[52]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 172, 179.

remain in the East for additional training following their incarceration. Making Medicine (O-kuh-ha-tuh), a Cheyenne speaking for twenty-two of the younger captives, announced: "I have now learned something about the Great Spirit's road and want to learn more. We have lived in this old place two years . . . It is old and we are young. We are tired of it. We want to go away from it, anywhere."[53]

During the winter of 1877-1878, Pratt once again requested better educational opportunities for the Fort Marion Indians. This time, however, Pratt's superiors approved the plan to educate the best prepared native pupils. But there was a catch. Indian Bureau officials informed Pratt of their interest in his proposal, but also confided that the department lacked the necessary appropriations to educate the Indians at government expense. If private donations could be secured to fund the experiment, however, the Bureau would not stand in Pratt's way.[54]

Pratt quickly secured private placement for five of the Fort Marion captives and frantically began corresponding

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[53]RHP, Fort Marion, St. Augustine, FL, February 20, 1877, to Adjutant General U.S. Army, Washington, D.C., in Taylor, ed., "The Indian Campaign," 32-53.

[54]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 177, 187; Taylor, ed., "The Indian Campaign," 355-56. Harriet Beecher Stowe played an integral part in securing approval for Pratt's educational program. Ms. Stowe suggested that the Fort Marion Indians receive advanced training at Amherst Agricultural School.

with northern agricultural and labor schools in an effort to enroll the seventeen other Fort Marion scholars. Pratt later noted that "as the whole Indian population by edict of the government were consigned to agriculture for a living, I sought entrance for them in state agricultural colleges."[55] Although several schools declined to enroll "prisoners of war with reputations for atrocities," Sarah Mather refused to take no for an answer. The Mount Holyoke graduate had invested nearly three years of her life tutoring the Fort Marion prisoners and decided to do everything in her power to place those Indians who desired further training. On a whim, Mather contacted an old acquaintance of hers, General Armstrong, the founder of Hampton Institute, an industrial training school established for freed slaves in 1868. Aware of the Fort Marion Indians' progress, Armstrong initially consented to accept one native scholar on an experimental basis. "I then wrote him," recalled Pratt, "explained the situation, vouched for the integrity and good behavior of the young men, and guaranteed success."[56]

By February 1878, Pratt had decided to send a handful of Indian prisoners to Hampton. Pratt informed Armstrong that "the whole subject has been canvassed largely by us all, and the conclusion is that Hampton is the place. Good square work is what these people need to be taught, as well

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[55]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 190.

[56]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 190.

as books."[57] In March, Pratt informed Armstrong that he had received the sanction from the Indian Commissioner to send the natives to Hampton. Appealing to the general's missionary impulse, the young officer then informed Armstrong how "nineteen of the most promising subjects here stepped out and told Gen. Hancock, they would rather stay East three years longer for education, than go back home now. It would seem as though some way ought to open up to accomplish such a thing, when they are anxious for it. The Indian Dept. might very properly continue rations and clothing to them and so bring the cost of their schooling down to a very low expense."[58] The prisoners' desire for additional training must have touched the general, not to mention the possibility of federal funds for his institution, for he scribbled a brief note on page two of Pratt's letter that read: "send three Indians by 'Hampton'[steamer] also send the 'sixth'--the Lord will see us through. I'll work to get the govt. to allow rations & clothes. I may take more after."[59]

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[57]RHP, St. Augustine, Florida, February 28, 1878, to SCA, Hampton Normal & Agricultural Institute, in Captain Richard Henry Pratt Box, HUA.

[58]RHP, St. Augustine, Florida, March 19, 1878, to SCA, Hampton Normal & Agricultural Institute, Indian Affairs, Armstrong Papers, "Samuel Chapman Armstrong Indian Affairs File," HUA.

[59]SCA's notation on RHP's letter of March 19, 1878, Armstrong Papers, "Samuel Chapman Armstrong Indian Affairs File," HUA; Everett A. Gilcreast, "Richard Henry Pratt and American Indian Policy, 1877-1906: A Study of the

Recognizing that he had captured Armstrong's attention, Pratt responded: "My mind is clear that there will be great economy to the Govt. in feeding and clothing all Indian youth who can be brought under the influences of a school like yours. Systematic training in the working department will be especially valuable to those I send."[60] As a result, Armstrong "gave way" and consented to accept the seventeen American Indian pupils who had not been placed in private homes. Pratt also noted Armstrong's pecuniary interest in the venture. "When he found the distinction of the people who were willing to pay for this education, it influenced him to take all he could get."[61]

Mary Burnham, a kind-hearted woman from Syracuse who taught at Fort Marion during her annual Florida vacation,

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Assimilation Movement," (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1967), 1-7, 17, 24-30; Robert F. Engs, "Red, Black, and White: A Study in Intellectual Inequality," in Region, Race, and Reconstruction, Ed. J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson (New York, 1982), 244-46.

[60]RHP, St. Augustine, FL, March 27, 1878, to SCA, Hampton Normal & Agricultural Institute, in Armstrong Papers, Indian Affairs Box, "Miss Mather, St. Augustine, Fla. File," HUA.

[61]CMF, "Indian Days at Hampton," HUA, 1-5; RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 190; HWL, "Twelve Years' Work," in Twenty-Two Years' Work, 9-10; HWL, ed., Ten Years' Work for Indians at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia, 1878-1888 (Hampton, 1888), 9-10; HWL, "An Indian Raid on Hampton Institute," SW 7 (May 1878), 36; Eastman, Pratt, 62-63; Margaret Rosten Muir, "Indian Education at Hampton Institute and Federal Indian Policy, Solutions to the Indian Problem," (Master's Thesis, Brown University, 1970), 27; Donal Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923 (Urbana, IL, 1995), 27-33.

supported four Indian scholars for the Diocese of Central New York. Burnham demanded, however, that she personally oversee the education of those students she financed. As a result, four students were transferred to Paris Hill, New York and placed under the pedagogical care of the Reverend J.B. Wicks, an Episcopal minister. One other native student, Bear Mountain (Tsait-kope-ta), the son of a Cheyenne father and Pawnee mother who lived with the Kiowa for fourteen years before his arrest, accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Caruthers to their home in Tarrytown, New York. Mrs Caruthers had also volunteered her tutorial services at Fort Marion during her family's frequent visits to the St. Augustine area. Bear Mountain remained with the Caruthers "several years as a son in the family."[62]

Armstrong's fledgling institution turned in a new direction in 1878 when Hampton officials responded to the "Macedonian cry" of the Fort Marion prisoners.[63] The entire

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[62]Paul Caruthers (Tsait-Kope-Ta), Tarrytown, NY, to RHP, Hampton Institute, January 5, 1879, in SW 8 (February 1879), 19; RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 190; RHP, "American Indians; Chained and Unchained," 398-99. Other backers of Hampton's Indian program included Bishop Henry Whipple who pledged to support four Indian scholars and Mrs. Joseph Larocque, the wife of a prominent attorney who befriended Fort Marion Indians during her annual visits to Florida, who agreed to pay for the education of two native pupils. Four other philanthropists agreed to fund one pupil each.

[63]SCA, "From the Beginning," in Twenty-Two Tears' Work, 9; HWL, "Twelve Years' Work," in Twenty-Two Years' Work, 312. The Fort Marion arrivals included nine Cheyenne (White Man [Ah-sit], Bear's Heart [Nacoista], Nick Pratt [Pa-a-cys], Squint Eyes [Tick-ke-mat-se], Little Chief [Con-way-

delegation of Fort Marion prisoners arrived at Hampton on the night of April 13, 1878. Former warriors met former slaves and together launched one of America's unique educational experiments.[64] Indians not remaining at the institution for further training accompanied General James R. O'Bierne, then Washington correspondent of the New York Herald, to their western communities. The native scholars who stayed at Hampton spent their first few days at the school visiting various local attractions--the big guns of Fort Monroe and the Norfolk Navy Yard. It was also during this period of initial adjustment, noted Pratt, that "General Armstrong and I talked much about the future of these young men and the need for them to become Americanized."[65]

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how-nif], Matches [Nan-hi-yurs], Howard Charlton [Mar-cu-ve-kist or Buzzard], Soaring Eagle [Ma-ah-chist], and Broken Leg [Cohoe or No-ho-ni-cas]); one Arapaho (White Bear [Wah-na-ku-uu]); five Kiowa (High Forehead [Ohet-toint], Boy [Etahdleuh Doanmoe], White Goose [Tsadle-tah], Good Talk [Tounkeah], and Wild Horse [Koba or Kobe]). The two other Kiowa pupils who arrived later in the year from Tarrytown, New York, were Teeth [Zone-ke-ah] and Roman Nose [Wo-uh-hun-nih or Henry Caruthers]. Pratt listed Roman Nose as a Cheyenne, but Hampton's records consistently show that Roman Nose was a full-blood Kiowa from the Cheyenne Agency. This is not the famous Cheyenne chief Roman Nose who died at the Battle of the Arickaree (Beecher's Island). See individual student files HUA; Proceedings for the United States National Museum for 1878, 204-14; RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 138-144; Hampton Institute Catalog, 1878-1879; Twenty-Two Years Work, 326-28.

[64]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 192.

[65]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 192; RHP, "American Indians; Chained and Unchained," 399; SCA, "Report of the Principal of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute," SW

Armstrong recalled those first encounters in a letter to his wife Emma. "Night before last at 2 a.m. I was waked to find that 70 Indians were at the wharf . . . We waked up everyone . . . put the Indians in two recitation rooms and went to bed again. We gave them food and religious instruction yesterday--they ate like horses and had a most interesting reunion in the chapel last night--savages on the platform--they sang outlandish things and made very funny speeches. The other students responded. They are standing hard."[66] In still another letter to Emma, the general wrote: "The Indians didn't harm us last night . . . They are quite interesting and the teachers are only too glad to teach them." An excited Armstrong could barely contain his enthusiasm. "They are a new step ahead & make the school very strong, and, really, Kitty, they are a big card for this school & will diminish my grey hairs. There's money in them I tell you."[67]

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7 (June 1878), 44; Peabody, Education for Life, 148; HWL, Ten Years' Work, 10; HWL, "An Indian Raid on Hampton Institute," SW 7 (May 1878), 36; "Incidents of Life at Hampton," SW 8 (February 1879), 19.

[66]SCA, to Emma Armstrong, April 15, 1878, quoted in Muir, "Indian Education at Hampton Institute and Federal Indian Policy," 29-30.

[67]SCA, to Emma Armstrong, April 19, 1878, Williamsona Collection, Williams College Archives and Special Collections, Williams College, Massachusetts, cited in Mary Lou Hultgren and Paulette Fairbanks Molin, To Lead and to Serve: American Indian Education at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923 (Virginia Beach, VA, 1989), 17-18.

Armstrong's comments demonstrate that his interest in the plight of the Fort Marion prisoners was not entirely altruistic. Hampton's founder discovered that Indian pupils would bolster the financial fortunes of his school. In addition, the presence of native scholars would encourage politically connected reformers to take an interest in Hampton. But at the same time, Armstrong sincerely believed that his institution could solve the nation's "Indian problem."

Armstrong's missionary upbringing in Hawaii, his experience commanding black soldiers during the Civil War, and his service to the recently freed slaves attending Hampton shaped his views concerning self-help. Armstrong contended that an agricultural and industrial education would best prepare the recent Indian arrivals for life after school. Black students already in attendance could assist in the educational process. "Our class of Negro youths form a current of influences which bears the red children along," asserted Armstrong. "The latter are like raw recruits in an old regiment."[68] Helen Ludlow, a faculty member at Hampton, reported that the dire predictions about the education of blacks and Indians "were disposed of when the seventeen braves fell cheerfully into line, with spade and plow and

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[68]SCA, quoted in Peabody, Education for Life, 148-49.

hoe, awl and hammer, side by side with their comrades of the other race."[69]

The government's attempt to crush the spirit of hostile Plains Indians by banishing them to an ancient Florida prison had failed. Pratt, the military officer responsible for the captives, recognized his native charges' deep-seated anger and distrust toward white people. Rather than cage his charges in cells and leave them for dead, he took immediate steps to counteract the despair that seemed to drain the life out of them. He dismissed the military guards and organized Indian companies. He put the prisoners to work, encouraged them to draw, and organized numerous camping excursions outside the fort's thick walls. Most important of all, Pratt demonstrated to a racist society that American Indians could be educated in white ways. Amazingly, after three years of banishment, twenty-two scholars stepped forward to receive additional training in eastern schools. Unknown to people at the time, these young men formed the nucleus of a pioneering educational experiment.

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[69]HWL, quoted in To Lead and to Serve, 18.

Chapter II

"Strike While the Iron is Hot"
The Growth of Hampton's Indian Program

Hampton officials arranged an ecumenical prayer service in Virginia Hall's chapel to welcome Richard Henry Pratt and his Indian wards.[1] Students, faculty, and curious visitors from the neighboring community also turned out to worship and, if possible, to catch a glimpse of Hampton's warriors. Those in attendance that night listened intently as the newcomers demonstrated Kiowa and Cheyenne war calls and greeted the crowd with tribal songs. One brave soul, Matches, "a pleasant, bright-faced Cheyenne," stepped forward and addressed the gathering. In broken English, he explained how he came to Hampton and how much he enjoyed school life, especially the "good girls." Ten other "Florida boys" also recounted their former deeds and discussed their future prospects.[2]

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[1]HWL, "An Indian Raid on Hampton Institute," SW 7 (May 1878), 36.

[2]CMF, Untitled, Unpublished Manuscript, (1918), 3-5, HUA; SCA, Twenty-Two Years' Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia (Hampton, 1893), 9.

A few days after the welcoming ceremony, the Indian newcomers began attending classes and working in the school shops or on the farm. The progress of the "Florida boys" amazed the principal. He reported that "these stalwart, red-handed braves did the first field labor of their lives in hoeing an onion bed; which, [as] with all subsequent work, they did cheerfully and well." After eleven of the Indians joined the school church, Armstrong announced that "I never saw a more radical change of life than appeared in those men."[3]

Despite their familiarity with whites, the Fort Marion contingent did not appreciate the hordes of inquisitive neighbors and tourists who frequented the school to meet "savage" Indians. The Indians who came to Hampton determined to learn a trade bristled at the constant queries into their former lives as "Lords of the Southern Plains." Others grew tired of the visitors' insensitivity. One Hampton instructor remarked that the Indians "are not fond of recounting their own savage deeds, and confided to Captain Pratt that they do not like to be asked by visitors if they have scalped and killed people."[4] Despite such rudeness, Armstrong encouraged the Indians to respond

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[3]SCA, "Indian Education in the East," SW 9 (November 1880), 114.

[4]SW 7 (May 1878), 46; CMF, "Review of Indian School," RCIA (1887), in House Executive Document no. 1, 50th Cong., 1st sess., serial 2542, 348-352.

politely to strangers. The ambitious principal must have realized that Hampton's Indian scholars were a drawing card for the school. Their mere presence generated interest in the black institution and its various departments.[5]

Armstrong repeatedly declared that his first commitment was to Hampton's black scholars, but he also recognized that the school's primary function would be enhanced by service to another emerging race. He was thus willing to proceed with the school's program in Indian education on an experimental basis. Continuation of the program, however, depended on the character of the Plains Indians and whether or not Hampton could secure federal funding for additional native Americans. Aware that previous efforts to educate Indians had failed, Pratt took extensive measures to properly train his former prisoners. "It is believed by those who have undertaken the new effort," he wrote, "that the industrial element in the training at Hampton is the

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[5]SCA, in Francis G. Peabody, Education for Life (New York, 1918), 148-49; HBF, Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners (1896) (Washington, D.C., 1897), 73. Armstrong's critics have lambasted his educational philosophy. In their opinion, Hampton's "education for life" meant training pupils to adjust to a life that had been carved out for them within an oppressive social order. See Donal Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923 (Urbana, IL, 1995); Robert F. Engs, "Red, Black, and White: A Study in Intellectual Inequality," in Region, Race, and Reconstruction, Ed. J. Morgan Kousser and James McPherson (New York, 1982), 243; Donald Spivey, Schooling for the New Slavery (Westport, CT, 1978), 17-38; James D. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935 (Chapel Hill, 1988), 33-78; and Elizabeth Jacoway, Yankee Missionaries in the South (Baton Rouge, LA, 1980). xiii-23.

essential one which has been wanting in the unsuccessful attempts, and which makes the present one more hopeful."[6]

Despite the promising beginnings made at Hampton, however, Pratt was uncomfortable with the school. His belief in the necessity of manual and industrial training for the Indian matched that of Armstrong, but Pratt worried that popular prejudices against the black students would rub off on the Indians, whom he wished to see assimilated into white society. Instead of continuing Hampton's biracial program, Pratt proposed establishing an Indian-only industrial training school where he could carry out his educational principles unhampered.[7] While he may have had personal misgivings about the institution's biracial environment, but that did not stop him from playing an instrumental role in the growth of Hampton's Indian program. During his twenty-month tenure at the school, he encouraged the adoption of an outing system and recruited the first western students to enroll in the school.[8]

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[6]SW 7 (December 1878), 90. Pratt was referring to the failed attempts at the College of William and Mary, Dartmouth, Harvard, and Princeton.

[7]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, Ed. Robert M. Utley (New Haven, 1964; reprint, Lincoln, NB, 1987), 214; Elaine Goodale Eastman, Pratt: The Red Man's Moses, (Norman, 1935), 66; Everett A. Gilcreast, "Richard Henry Pratt and American Indian Policy, 1877-1906: A Study of the Assimilationist Movement," (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1967), 31-38.

[8]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 194; Robert Trennert, "From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930," Pacific History Review 52 (August 1983),

President Rutherford B. Hayes praised the school's biracial program during his visit to Hampton's Tenth Anniversary exercises in 1878. Noting the absence of Indian women, Hayes expressed his conviction that "to elevate any race we must give the women equal advantage with the men."[9] He noted that "Indians who have become agriculturalists or herdsmen and feel an interest in property will thenceforth cease to be a warlike and disturbing element." Hayes also believed that Indian leaders became "peaceable and quiet" when their children attended off-reservation boarding schools. "The result of this interesting experiment, if favorable," concluded Hayes, "may be destined to become an important factor in the advancement of civilization among the Indians."[10]

During the summer of 1878 Armstrong moved to expand Hampton's Indian program by implementing immediate measures designed to attract female pupils to Hampton. According to the principal, "the coeducation of Indian boys and girls with its lessons of mutual respect and helpfulness in the

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[9]Max Adeler, "Negro and Indian: Two Races at School," Philadelphia Evening Bulletin 32 (May 25, 1878); Hayes quoted in CMF, unpub. mss, 10, HUA; SW 8 (January 1879), 3.

[10]SW 8 (Jan 1879), 3.

class rooms and work rooms is the hope, and the only hope of permanent Indian civilization."[11]

In a letter addressed to Carl Schurz, the Secretary of the Interior, Armstrong expressed his view that Hampton's Indian program would not be complete until female Indians attended the school. Schurz agreed. Unfortunately for Hampton, Ezra A. Hayt, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, refused to support the initiative. He believed that Hampton's educational experiment would, like all previous attempts to train native scholars, fail. Despite the commissioner's misgivings, however, Schurz endorsed Armstrong's request to recruit female scholars.[12] In addition, Schurz approved a plan which would reimburse Hampton Institute $167 per pupil each year for the training of fifty Indian youths, "of both sexes and in equal numbers, between the ages of 14 and 20."[13] In return, Armstrong pledged to "give . . . as fully as the time of their stay would allow, a knowledge of the English language, training

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[11]SW 8 (September 1879), 90; "Our Indian Girls," SW 8 (November 1879), 111; CMF, unpub. mss., 10, HUA; SCA, "Annual Report of the Principal," SW 9 (June 1880), 63; SW 10 (February 1881), 15; SW 7 (October 1878), 73.

[12]SCA, HI, to Carl Schurz, November 30, 1878, Principal's Letterbook (June 10, 1878-October 10, 1879), 149; Box 3, HUA; SCA, Twenty-Two Years' Work, 314; SW 7 (Oct 1878), 73; CMF, unpub. mss, 11, HUA; Eastman, Pratt, 65.

[13]Ezra A. Hayt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., September 9, 1878, to SCA, Dept of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Armstrong Box, "Misc. File," HUA; E.A. Hayt, CIA, to Agent John W. Douglas, Yankton Agency, September 2, 1878, RHP File, HUA.

in the decencies of life, and a manual labor drill that shall qualify them to earn their living and be an example to and influence upon, their people."[14]

Though the annual appropriation fell far short of covering Hampton's per student operating costs, the importance of the much-needed capital during the school's formative years cannot be questioned. Government revenues reimbursed the institution for the board, clothing, and incidental costs of the Indian students. Student labor helped offset some of the expenses, but Hampton officials also relied on the generosity of private benefactors to cover the costs of tuition, the construction of Indian-only dormitories, and the Indians' industrial training expenses. Native pupils who did not qualify for federal assistance would have to work their way through Hampton on the same basis as black students.[15]

By the end of 1878 Hampton had become a contract school, a private boarding school receiving federal aid for a specific number of Indian students on a per capita basis.

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[14]SW (October 1878), 73, Margaret Rosten Muir, "Indian Education at Hampton Institute and Federal Indian Policy: Solutions to the Indian Problem," (Master's Thesis, Brown University, 1970), 34-35; Joseph Willard Tingey, "Indians and Blacks Together: An Experiment in Biracial Education at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923," (Ed.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1978), 313.

[15]SCA, RCIA (1880), in House Executive Document no. 1, 47th Cong., 1st sess., serial 2018, 183; Mary Lou Hultgren and Paulette Fairbanks Molin, To Lead and to Serve (Virginia Beach, 1989), 19.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs had no say in the school's operation, but Hampton officials had to demonstrate the success of their program and provide the Secretary of the Interior with a detailed annual report about the Indians. Failure to demonstrate progress would spell disaster for the school.

Once funding had been secured for expanding the Indian program, Pratt began looking for native youth willing to enroll. George W. McCrary, the Secretary of War, encouraged Pratt to visit Leavenworth, Kansas, in an effort to secure approximately fifty Nez Perce children. Unfortunately for Pratt, Chief Joseph, the famous Nez Perce leader who outfoxed thousands of soldiers during his attempted flight to Canada, rebuffed all attempts to educate his children.[16] On September 2, 1878, federal officials then authorized Pratt to visit several Indian agencies in Dakota Territory.[17] Both military leaders and government bureaucrats had recognized the value of off-reservation boarding schools where Indian children would be removed from the "corrupting influences" of their home surroundings.[18]

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[16]Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 34.

[17]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 195-96; CMF, unpub. mss., 11, HUA; SW 7 (December 1878), 73.

[18]Carl Schurz, "Report of the Secretary of the Interior," House Executive Document no. 1, 46th Cong., 3d sess., Part 5, serial 1959, vol. 1, 7.

Pratt later took credit for the growth and expansion of Hampton's Indian program. Explaining the purpose of his Dakota Territory trip, he noted that "the Sioux were selected on the principle of taking the most pains with those who give the most trouble."[19] The rebellious Lakota warriors had been thorns in the side of government officials since the 1860s. Custer's invasion of the sacred Black Hills had only added fuel to the violence that swept the Great Plains during the 1870s. After a series of bloody engagements, Crazy Horse and other Lakota warriors agreed to surrender terms by 1877. Sitting Bull and his followers, however, refused to accept confinement on a reservation and fled to safety in Canada.

Pratt faced a daunting task. He traveled to the Dakotas to collect the children of tribal leaders and prominent warriors. These prospective Hampton students were hostages. Their attendance in a distant boarding school insured peace, stability, and order. More importantly, their presence among former enemies was designed to make tribal leaders more manageable and cooperative. Like the Fort Marion prisoners from Indian Territory before them, native youth became a key component of the government's plans to pacify rebellious and potentially hostile Indians.

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[19]HWL, "Captain Pratt's Campaign," SW 7 (Dec 1878), 91, 93; To Lead and to Serve, 18; RHP, Carlisle, PA, October 1, 1895, to Annie Beecher Scoville, HI, Dept. of Interior, Indian School Service Correspondence, Frissell & Briggs Box, "F. Gleason, Capt. Pratt & Others File," HUA.

Education, pacification, and acculturation would, argued the proponents of assimilationist policies, "win the West."[20]

Pratt's recruiting party visited the six agencies along the Missouri River, from Fort Berthold in North Dakota to Yankton further south, during the fall of 1878. Their first stop, Fort Berthold Agency, the home of 1,300 to 1,400 Gros Ventres (Hidatsas), Mandans, and Arikaras, was one of the group's most successful recruiting visits. The agency was established in 1868 on the Missouri River above Bismarck, Dakota Territory, to assist the enemies of the Lakota. Pratt recalled that the three tribes were "more advanced toward self-support than other tribes . . . know more of agriculture, are better housed and more industrious."[21] Charles L. Hall, the agency's Congregational minister, noted that the Three Affiliated Tribes were "peaceably disposed,

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[20]SCA, "From the Beginning," Twenty-Two Years' Work, 11; The Great Sioux War, 1876-77, Ed. Paul L. Hedren (Helena, MT, 1991), 9-21; Robert M. Utley, Frontiersmen in Blue (New York, 1967), 261-340; Utley, The Lance and the Shield: The Life and Times of Sitting Bull (New York, 1993), 115-182; Utley, The Last Days of the Sioux Nation (New Haven, 1963; reprint, 1966), 22-23, 35-36; and John F. Finerty, War-Path and Bivouac or The Conquest of the Sioux (Norman, 1961), 64-98. The pacification aspect of Hampton is born out by the statistics. 301 of 427 (70 percent) Indians between 1878 and 1888 were Sioux. See HWL, ed., Ten Years' Work for Indians at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia, 1878-1888 (Hampton, VA, 1888), 11.

[21]RHP, "Notes on the Trail in Dakota," SW 7 (Dec 1878), 93-94; "Records of the Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," 40-41, in Charles L. Hall Papers, State Historical Society of North Dakota, Bismarck, ND (hereafter cited as "A.B.C.F.M. Records").

the most friendly and loyal to the government, and perhaps the best Indians of the Upper Missouri." Though he regretted sending Indian children so far away from home, Hall remained optimistic for the future. He noted that "Let us educate the teachers and the leaders of this race, keeping them constantly surrounded by the most elevating Christian influences, and they will have a great power in the lifting up the masses, who must be taught and Christianized at home."[22]

Following some initial tribal dissension, the faction that supported educating Indian children prevailed, and Pratt's party managed to secure ten pupils for Hampton. During his stay, Pratt encountered a problem that plagued him during the remainder of the trip--the inability to secure an equal number of female pupils for Hampton. Pratt rationalized his failure by reporting that the Indians "could not spare the girls because of their usefulness as laborers, and that education injured this quality."[23]

Hampton's recruiting party then ventured to Standing Rock Agency, located on the west bank of the Missouri River

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[22]"A.B.C.F.M. Records," in the Charles L. Hall Papers, SHSND, Bismarck, ND, 22, 50; Roy W. Meyer, The Village Indians of the Upper Missouri (Lincoln, 1977).

[23]"Report of Lieut. R.H. Pratt, Special Agent to Collect Indian Youth to be Educated at Hampton Institute, VA," November 22, 1878, RCIA (1878), in House Executive Document, no. 1, 45th Cong., 3d sess., serial 1850, 669; RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 197-98; CMF, unpub. mss., 12, HUA; SW 7 (November 1878), 82. Consult Appendix B for names of students who accompanied Pratt to Hampton in 1878.

about fifty miles south of Bismarck. The agency was home to Hunkpapa, Blackfeet, and Upper Yanktonai Sioux, including many warriors who had trounced Custer's Seventh Calvary at the Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876. Pratt's party managed to recruit a handful of students only because Sitting Bull, who opposed sending children away to government boarding schools, was still in exile in Canada. These pupils, all Roman Catholics, would challenge Hampton officials to live up to their nonsectarian claims.[24]

Confident that he was making good progress, Pratt decided to visit the Cheyenne River Reservation. The agency, established in 1868 on the west bank of the Missouri River at the mouth of the Cheyenne River, was home to approximately 3,000 Miniconjou, Blackfeet, Sans Arc, and Two Kettle Sioux. Episcopalian missionaries assigned to the agency helped secure a good enrollment of native children for Hampton.[25] Pratt also encountered a stroke of luck during his stay at Crow Creek and Lower Brulè, two agencies situated on opposite sides of the Missouri River below the

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[24]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 198-199; RHP, "Notes on the Trail in Dakota," SW 7 (December 1878), 93-94. James McLaughlin, the agent assigned to Standing Rock from 1881 until 1894, provides a great deal of information regarding the Teton bands and the Three Affiliated tribes in My Friend the Indian (Lincoln, 1989), 16-26, 32-35, 91, 251-59.

[25]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 199-200; RHP, RCIA (1878), serial 1850, 669-670. Thirty pupils applied to accompany Pratt to Hampton from Cheyenne River, but only nine male pupils were selected. Prospective female scholars abandoned plans to attend Hampton at the last moment when missionaries inflamed their racial fears.

mouth of the Bad River. Crow Creek Agency was home to some 1,000 Lower Yanktonai Sioux and Lower Brulè housed nearly 1,000 Lower Brulè Sioux. The agent responsible for both agencies was Captain William E. Dougherty of the First Infantry. Dougherty encouraged the Episcopalian missionaries at both agencies to persuade skeptical Indian parents to send their children to Hampton. Many of these prospective pupils had already attended school. Pratt remarked that one dedicated missionary, Mrs. M. E. Duigan, operated "one of the best Indian schools I have ever seen." Pratt was especially impressed by the fact that "she gives special and effective attention to the English language." A full-blood Sioux Episcopal minister, most likely Luke C. Walker, had charge of a church and school house at Lower Brulè where he instructed young children in Dakota. Walker's support for Hampton undoubtedly convinced many of his kinsmen to part with their beloved children. He was, after all, an educated Indian who used his skills to assist his own people. Maybe their own children, reasoned Indian parents, could do likewise.[26]

The final contingent of Indian children destined for Hampton came from the Yankton Agency. Agent John W. Douglass supported Hampton's educational mission and garnered eleven Indian pupils (eight boys and three girls)

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[26]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 200-201; RHP, "Notes on the Trail in Dakota," SW 7 (December 1878), 93-94.

for the school. Pratt described the party as "good material with more or less education in the Sioux dialect." In fact, one boy spoke enough English "to act as a medium of communication."[27] The Hampton recruiters eventually secured "forty bronzed, disheveled, long-haired wild men from the far west" and nine female students.[28]

Many members of the Dakota Territory party were the children of tribal leaders. Federal officials and Christian reformers hoped that Armstrong's off-reservation boarding school could help keep potentially hostile tribes peaceful while simultaneously assimilating and befriending future Indian leaders. Armstrong and Pratt labored to realize that vision. Pratt remarked that "the needs and educational efforts among the wild tribes is very great. The education of small numbers is overborne and lost in the mass of corrupting and demoralizing surroundings. Children at school are hostages for good behavior of parents."[29] Armstrong concurred with the young officer. "These pupils are practically hostages; their being here is a peace measure. We are not dealing with peaceful Indians, for then

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[27]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 202-203; RHP, RCIA (1878), in serial 1850, 669-671.

[28]CMF, unpub. mss, 12, HUA; RHP, in Secretary of the Interior, Annual Report (1878), 669-70; SCA, Report of the Principal of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, for the Year Ending July 30, 1879 (Richmond, 1879), 9, 12-13; "Indian Education at Hampton," Friend's Intelligencer 38 (1881-82), 206.

[29]RHP, in RCIA (1878), in serial 1850, 174.

it would be no experiment . . . Our work is upon a wild, fighting people, who have refused peace and are trained for war. But while their children are away at school they will not fight."[30]

Members of the Dakota Territory contingent included a broad spectrum of Indian society including orphans, siblings, and relatives of prominent chiefs. Some students, like the eleven Yankton pupils (three females, eight males) described as "the most advanced of all," had attended school before venturing east. These native scholars had been taught in their own language by Episcopalian and Presbyterian missionaries. The Lower Brulè contingent, six "bright and hopeful" boys (mostly orphans), had also attended mission schools. Indians from Crow Creek, Cheyenne River, and Standing Rock Agencies had also attended mission schools.[31]

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[30]SCA, "Indians at Hampton," Report of the Principal to the Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1878-1916, 3, HUA; Twelfth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners (1880) (Washington, D.C., 1881), 82; SCA, "Official Report," SW 7 (December 1878), 90-91; HWL, "Captain Pratt's Campaign," SW 7 (December 1878), 91; SW 8 (January 1879), 6; SCA, "Indian Education in the East," SW 9 (November 1880), 114. Hampton's Dakota party included relatives of Bone Necklace, White Bull, Little No Heart, White Horse, Hard Horn, and Son of Star.

[31]"Account of the Forty-nine Dakotas," SW 7 (December 1878), 94; SCA, "Annual Report," SW 8 (June 1879), 64; RHP, RCIA (1878), in serial 1850, 669-71; HWL, "Indian Education at Hampton and Carlisle," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 62 (April 1881), 662.

At the same time, one-third to one-half of the newcomers had never been to school. To complicate matters, many of the pupils who had attended school had been taught "chiefly in Dakota" and no member of Hampton's faculty had yet mastered the language. Fortunately for school officials, two members of the Dakota party, John Robb (Cheyenne River Sioux) and Mary Dawson (Arikara), spoke two languages.[32] The western party's lack of English and the Hampton instructors' ignorance of Lakota ultimately resulted in the establishment of a separate Indian Department at the school.

Descriptions of the earliest Indian arrivals indicate that many of them came directly from camp life and entered the school in failing health. Moreover, many of these pupils were older and less acculturated than Indian students who later attended Hampton during the 1890s. Charles L. Hall reported that some members of the Dakota party came "from the lower grade of Indian life." Hall must have had White Breast (Sayedda), a Mandan from Fort Berthold Agency, in mind. One instructor reported that White Breast "came from the lowest kind of Indian life, but was a 'brave'. Had been through the Sun-dance."[33]

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[32]RHP, "Notes on the Trail in Dakota," SW 7 (December 1878), 93; SW 8 (January 1879), 8; John Robb and Mary Dawson, SFs, HUA; CMF, unpub. mss., 13, HUA.

[33]"A.B.C.F.M. Records," in Charles L. Hall Papers, SHSND, 156; White Breast, Biography Sheet, in SF, HUA; "Record of Returned Indians," 14, HUA.

A subdued Armstrong commented that "the only drawback to the general fairness of the conditions is felt to be in the small proportion of girls sent." Hampton's founder was determined to recruit an equal number of female Indians. "It is useless to talk of civilizing a nation without civilizing its women," wrote Armstrong.[34] To rectify the situation, Armstrong sought official sanction to secure at government expense twenty additional female Indians "in order that the experiment as originally intended, of educating equal numbers of both sexes--may be fully carried out."[35]

Pratt's Dakota party arrived at Hampton on November 5, 1878. Many Indian recruits were unprepared for the regimentation of boarding school life. One former Fort Marion prisoner, Little Chief (Con-way-how-nif), empathized with the school's newest students for he had also been separated from his loved ones and schooled by his former enemies. Little Chief greeted the newcomers in sign language and offered his assistance.[36] Other former Fort Marion prisoners also eased the culture shock of school life

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[34]SCA, SW 7 (December 1878), 90; SCA, "Report of the Principal," SW 9 (June 1880), 63-64.

[35]E.A. Hayt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., December 14, 1878, to SCA, Dept of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Armstrong Box, "Misc. File," HUA; RHP, HI, December 23, 1878, to E.A. Hayt, Washington, D.C., in SW 8 (January 1879), 8. Hayt declined Armstrong's request.

[36]Twenty-Two Years' Work, 327-28.

by helping the recruits adjust to an alien environment. Commenting on the assistance provided by the Fort Marion Indians, Pratt noted that "the presence and purpose of the Florida boys has been an incentive, and the new youth have taken hold of their opportunity with a will."[37]

Thanks to "the Florida boys," Hampton's Dakota party adapted to life in the East. The longing for home, the separation from friends and family, and the reality of boarding school life were difficult challenges. Students faced other changes as well: confinement to classrooms; the presence of black scholars; a regimented life; a different climate; and a reversal of tribal traditions for males and females in manners, customs, and occupations.[38] Not surprisingly, an initial period of adjustment proved difficult for some Indian students.[39]

Shortly after their arrival in November 1878, Pratt's recruits began attending classes. Four of the newcomers studied with the "Florida boys" in the most advanced Indian class. Three natives with prior academic training entered Hampton's regular course of study. Two of these students

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[37]RHP, RCIA (1878), in serial 1850, 671.

[38]Hultgren and Molin, To Lead and to Serve, 21. David Wallace Adams provides an excellent overview of how educators attempted to strip away all of the outward signs of the students' identification with tribal life in Education for Extinction (Lawrence, KS, 1995), 100-112.

[39]J.C.R. [James Robbins], "Incidents of Indian Life," SW 8 (July 1879), 77.

enrolled in the preparatory course and one pupil, John Robb, advanced to the junior level class. The remaining forty-two members of the Dakota party, those lacking English skills and formal academic training, were organized into two sections. These pupils spent half the day working in the shops, fields, or school laundry and the remainder mastering rudimentary academic subjects and improving their English skills.[40]

Hampton's course of study was especially troublesome for Indians not accustomed to confinement in classrooms and shops. Isabel Eustis, a Hampton employee, recalled how Indians assigned to the preparatory class sat in a semicircle around a teacher who stood by a blackboard on which English phrases had been written: "stand up, walk, stop, look up," which she had been teaching the Indian students to illustrate. On one end of the semi-circle sat Ahuka (White Wolf) with his thick, shaggy, black hair hanging down to his waist and his blanket wrapped tightly around himself. After explaining the words to her bewildered students, the teacher pointed at the first word on the board and asked Ahuka for a response. The dumbfounded pupil glanced up at the teacher, then at the word, back again, more sharply at her, and said nothing.

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[40]Hultgren and Molin, To Lead and to Serve, 21; Ten Years' Work, 13.

After a long pause, the frustrated Arikara adult threw his head back, leaned forward, and uttered a long howl.[41]

In addition to grappling with alien subjects and dormitory life, Hampton's Dakota arrivals also had to familiarize themselves with a different set of manners, customs, and occupations.[42] The native scholars also had to acquire an appreciation for southern-style cooking. Not surprisingly, some Indians considered Hampton's standard fare of salt pork, sweet potatoes, and cornbread to be unpalatable. Beside learning to stomach unfamiliar food, male Indians quickly learned that female Indians were to be treated politely at all times. Armstrong deliberately cultivated this spirit of deference to curb what he perceived as a disrespectful attitude toward women among native peoples. Male Indians learned an early lesson when, after landing at the wharf, they walked the three miles to Hampton while female pupils enjoyed a horse and buggy. In addition, male Indians sat at the dinner table with the female students, but in stark contrast to tribal custom, they served the meal and waited upon the Indian women.[43]

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[41]Isabel Eustis, Thirteenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1881 (Washington, D.C., 1882), 64-65.

[42]CMF, unpubl. mss., 52-53, HUA; To Lead and to Serve, 21.

[43]SCA, "Indian Education in the East," SW 9 (November 1880), 114.

Thomas Wildcat Alford believed that Hampton's attempt to educate male and female pupils together created "a kind of good-fellowship between the sexes." Though male and female Indians were frequently segregated, they often interacted in the classrooms and dining halls. Moreover, school officials arranged "socials" with dancing, games, contests, and conversation for Indian pupils. The Absentee-Shawnee graduate considered Hampton's coeducational environment a crucial aspect of his learning experience. "The association with the opposite sex on a footing of equality was something new, and I am afraid we were very crude and awkward at first." In time, however, Alford and other male scholars learned to act "properly" around women. "I no longer felt awkward or self-conscious in the society of the opposite sex. I had learned those outward forms of manner that give one a comfortable feeling in the company of well-bred people," he wrote.[“]

Hampton's newest Indian scholars also had to don strange clothes and adopt different methods of personal grooming. Male Indians quickly learned that their long locks would have to be trimmed. Cora Mae Folsom, a Hampton instructor, reported that both male and female students took great care of their hair. They might don the uncomfortable school uniform, but rarely did they allow the barber's

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[“]Thomas Wildcat Alford, Civilization and the Story of the Absentee Shawnees (Norman, 1936; reprint, 1979), 101-103, 108-109.

shears to slash away their chief glory without some resistance. One recent arrival, Walking Cloud (Crow Creek Sioux), refused to abandon his familiar blanket or permit anyone to cut his treasured locks. Walking Cloud informed school authorities that "I did not come here to study books, I came to learn to be a blacksmith. A man cannot be two things." After a few rebellious weeks, however, the lonely pupil asked permission to attend academic classes. In return, Walking Cloud abandoned his blanket and trimmed his hair.[45] The decision must have been traumatic. For many of the Indian students, cutting one's hair was the supreme sign of mourning and thus marked a key transition in their life. In time, Hampton authorities learned they had better success when the students acted as their own barbers.[46]

The familiar blanket so treasured by Walking Cloud and his companions quickly gave way to a starched gray school uniform, with its shiny buttons, stiff-visored cap, and heavy leather shoes. The resourceful corps of Indian students, however, detested the uncomfortable shoes and quickly replaced them with the more comfortable moccasins from home. Black Hamptonians and school employees quickly followed suit, abandoning their uncomfortable leather shoes for moccasins during the summer. Female scholars also

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[45]"Indian Philosophy," SW 8 (February 1879), 20. Walking Cloud later died at Hampton and was buried in the school cemetery in June 1879.

[46]CMF, unpub. mss, 120; HUA.

experienced changes. The familiar shawls of the Indian women were to be replaced with feathered hats and conservative dresses. Once again, however, the pupils would have none of it. Many women refused to don the hats because only male Indians wore feathers. The school matron eventually insisted that the hats be worn, only to see them quickly disappear beneath the Indian shawls that the young women refused to part with.[47]

Boarding schools introduced native pupils to a different way of life. But to the Indians change was nothing new. The majority of newcomers accommodated themselves to the strange environment following a brief period of transition. Not surprisingly, younger Indian students, described by Armstrong as "more pliant and easily acclimated," were often the first to adapt to Hampton's regimented life.[48] Those who could not adapt, most often the older, less acculturated students, rebelled, returned home, or died.

Armstrong, favorably impressed with the amount of progress made by Hampton's Indians, noted that:

> Coming utterly ignorant of English, accessible only through an interpreter, they have made excellent progress in their studies, in language

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[47]CMF, unpub. mss., 14, HUA; A picture entitled "Group of Indian Boys," was taken of the Dakota party in March 1880. See "First Indian Students: Prominent Artists A-Z," in Prisoners of War Box, HUA.

[48]SCA, Report of The Principal . . . for the Year Ending July 30, 1879, 9.

> especially; both sexes doing equally well, comparing in talent favorably with the brightest class of colored students. In the presence of visitors they are at a disadvantage; they are always reluctant to air their English; but their desire to learn is most earnest. Their chief complaint is "too much Indian talk."[49]

He also praised the Indians' good conduct. "They have given up tobacco, and have nothing to do with liquor, though rum is for sale within three minutes' walk of their quarters."[50]

President Hayes was also impressed with the Hampton program. In his Second Annual Message to Congress, December 2, 1878, he emphasized the value of Indian education in solving the "Indian problem." Although Hayes believed that force might be necessary to prevent or repress Indian conflicts, he encouraged members of Congress to place greater reliance upon "humane and civilizing agencies" for the solution of "the Indian problem."[51] He made special mention of Hampton Institute where fifty Indian boys and girls "receive an elementary English education and training in agriculture and other useful works, to be returned to their tribes, after the completed course, as interpreters,

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[49]Ibid., 9; SCA, "Indians at Hampton," Report of Principal to Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1878-1916, 2, HUA.

[50]SCA, Report of the Principal . . . for the Year Ending July 30, 1879, 10.

[51]Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897, compiled by James D. Richardson, 10 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1896-1899), 10:4456-57; Hayes, cited in House Miscellaneous Document no. 210, 53d Cong., 2d sess., serial 3265, vol. 7 (1869-1881), 503-504.

instructors, and examples." The results at Hampton, remarked Hayes, "may be destined to become an important factor in the advancement of civilization among the Indians."[52]

By 1879, Hampton's program for Indians was no longer experimental. Despite some lingering problems, such as the lack of dormitory space, the failing health of native scholars, and the paucity of female natives in attendance, government officials favored expanding Hampton's program for American Indian youth.[53] The progress made by the Fort Marion Indians and Pratt's Dakota Territory party proved that Indians could be educated.

Despite the Indian program's apparent success, Pratt shocked Armstrong in the fall of 1879 with news that he planned to leave Hampton. He then contacted George McCrary and requested permission to return to his former regiment. But after a series of meetings with Carl Schurz and other government officials, Pratt agreed to convert the abandoned army barracks in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, into an Indian boarding school.[54] A short time later, Congress voted to

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[52]Papers of the Presidents, 10:4456-57; Hayes, serial 3265, 7:577; Philip Weeks, "From War to Peace: Rutherford B. Hayes and the Administration of Indian Affairs, 1877-1881," in Old Northwest 11 (1986), 149-72.

[53]Schurz, Report of the Secretary of the Interior, in serial 1959, 10.

[54]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 215-16, 230; Eastman, Pratt: The Red Man's Moses, 76-79; 213; Tingey, "Indians and Blacks Together," 112-113; SW 9 (January 1880), 8.

appropriate the necessary funds and Pratt opened Carlisle on November 1, 1879, with the assistance of eleven former Fort Marion prisoners who accompanied him to Pennsylvania from Hampton.[55]

Pratt abandoned Hampton because he believed that training Indians and blacks together unwisely associated two race problems. He argued that Indian students had to mingle, live near, and compete with whites to prove their equality. In Pratt's opinion, only an all-Indian boarding school could accomplish this goal.[56] Unlike Armstrong, who contended that Hampton's biracial environment benefitted Indians and blacks alike, Pratt concluded that the two races were "unalike in temperament and widely separated historically."[57]

Pratt also implemented a different regimen at Carlisle. He promoted an uncompromising program of immersing native scholars in the dominant culture in the hope that it would "kill the Indian and save the man." Despite this

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[55]Report of RHP, October 5, 1880, in RCIA (1880), in serial 1959, 178-79. Only Bear's Heart (Cheyenne) remained at Hampton.

[56]Everett A. Gilcreast, "Richard Henry Pratt and American Indian Policy, 1877-1906: A Study of the Assimilation Movement," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1967), 31-38; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 325; Hultgren and Molin, To Lead and to Serve, 21; Frederick J. Stefon, "Richard Henry Pratt and His Indians," Journal of Ethnic Studies 15 (1987), 94-95.

[57]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 213; Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 22-27, 38-40.

difference, however, Pratt employed many of the same educational methods practiced at Hampton, especially the outing system and vocational training. Through practical methods, Pratt sought to fill the young Indians "with the spirit of loyalty to the stars and stripes." He then hoped to "move them out into our communities to show by their conduct and ability that the Indian is no different from the white or the colored."[58]

In opposition to Pratt's philosophy of rapid absorption into mainstream American society, Armstrong developed a curriculum designed to "make haste slowly." He believed that the drive toward interracial unity was more effective in stages. Armstrong also noted that the most effective path to individual development lay in service to others, for whom responsibility should be felt. Unlike Pratt, Armstrong also expressed misgivings about the cultural loss of native pupils. He contended that pride could not be inculcated while racial absorption was being advocated. Rather than "killing the Indian" in the pupil, Armstrong and his successor, Hollis B. Frissell, bolstered the racial pride and cultural values of Hampton's Indian students.[59]

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[58]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 213-24; RHP, Official Report, in Francis Paul Prucha, Americanizing the American Indians (Cambridge, MA, 1973), 269; SW 8 (September 1879), 91.

[59]SW 8 (November 1879), 91; Tingey, "Indians and Blacks Together," 141.

Despite the apparent success of Hampton's biracial experiment, Armstrong confronted a host of problems that threatened the viability of his school's Indian program. The persistent sickness of many Dakota Territory arrivals concerned school employees. Armstrong knew full well that failure to improve health conditions at the school meant losing the annual government appropriation for native scholars. He also realized the need to recruit additional Indian students to replace those who left Hampton. The lack of female Indian pupils also concerned Armstrong. As more natives entered the school during the next decade, Hampton authorities had to develop a course of study that would adequately prepare them for lives of service and leadership among their own people.

Chapter III

Building for the Future: The Evolution of Hampton's Indian Program

Thirty-eight moss-covered headstones occupy a small section of Hampton University's private cemetery. Today the well-kept grave markers stand as stark reminders that some Indians did not survive their boarding school experience. Many other students left the school early in failing health and died shortly after returning home. Stunned administrators knew that they had to counter the alarmingly high rate of illness at Hampton if the school's Indian program was to endure.

The health crisis startled Armstrong. In 1880, he announced that "the chief trouble is with their [Indians'] health."[1] During that year, eight Indians died at Hampton, and four others were returned home in failing health. The following year, Armstrong reported that fifteen members (thirty-one percent) of Pratt's Dakota Territory party were in failing health. Of these, ten (twenty percent) died at

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[1]SCA, RCIA (1880), House Executive Document 1, part 5, 46th Cong., 3d sess., serial 1959, 182-85; SCA, "Annual Report," SW 9 (June 1880), 63-64.

Hampton or shortly after returning to their western agencies.[2]

Hampton officials rationalized the school's dismal record by arguing that many Indians came to Hampton in failing health. Schools were not killing the native scholars, defensive administrators contended, poverty, "inherited weaknesses," unsanitary reservation conditions, and an "utter disregard to all laws of health" were to blame for the natives' high mortality rates.[3] Only proper training at Hampton, noted one school employee, could help counteract the prevailing trends.[4]

Word of Hampton's high mortality rates also reached the western agencies. Some tribal leaders took immediate action. Chief Hardhorn, Long Arm's (Gros Ventre) father, asked the missionary at Fort Berthold to check into his son's health. "I hear they are all sick and one died."[5] Concerned administrators countered the mounting criticism by

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[2]SCA, RCIA (1881), House Executive Document, 47th Cong., 1st sess., serial 2018, 253; SW 8 (July 1879), 77; SCA, RCIA (1880), in serial 1959, 182, HWL, "Incidents of Indian Life," SW 8 (May 1879), 55; J.C.R. [James Robbins], "Incidents of Indian Life," SW 8 (December 1879), 123; SW 8 (February 1879), 20; SW 8 (August 1879), 82; HWL, Ten Years' Work for the Indians at Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia (Hampton, 1888), 17-18.

[3]SCA, RCIA (1881), in serial 2018, 253.

[4]Waldron, "The Indian Health Question," in Twenty-Two Years' Work for the Indians at Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Va. (Hampton, 1893), 501.

[5]CMF, Untitled, Unpublished Manuscript (1918), 28-29, 46-47, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 333.

improving conditions at the school. Potential applicants now had to pass "the most careful physical examination" and only those whom the physician deemed "absolutely healthy" would be admitted to the school.[6] Students listed as unsatisfactory were cared for by a resident physician and a cadre of well-trained nurses. Sickly pupils were also placed on a special diet and assigned a trade that would not tax their strength. Instead of consuming salt pork, cornbread, and coffee, ill pupils ate fruits, vegetables, and a diet rich in beef, carbohydrates, and dairy products.[7] Armstrong reacted with such energy because he knew full well that failure to respond appropriately would curtail the government's appropriation for Indian students.

Armstrong refused to accept the responsibility for the students' high casualty rates. Instead, he blamed the hasty recruitment of Indian pupils which, in his opinion, made it "impossible to secure as thorough an examination of the children and to insist as strenuously upon the requirement of perfect health as was desirable, and in almost every instance the deaths have resulted from diseases contracted

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[6]SCA, RCIA (1880), in serial 1959, 182.

[7]Waldron, in Ten Years' Work, 22-24; Waldron, "The Indian Health Question," in Twenty-Two Years' Work, 494-95; SCA, RCIA (1881), serial 2018, 253; Mary Lou Hultgren and Paulette Fairbanks Molin, To Lead and to Serve, 21, 58. Molin and Hultgren count 38 natives buried at HI. They wrongly report, however, that Hattie Kellogg (Apache) was the last student to die at the school in 1895. See Appendix D for the names of Indians who died while attending Hampton.

before the pupils left their homes." Hampton's frustrated principal also reported that the students' utter disregard for their own health, like "an occasional midnight war dance on a moonlight night, in the lightest of clothing" added complications to the medical staff's treatment of some diseases.[8]

Dr. Martha Waldron, who worked at Hampton from 1881 until 1910, also defended the school's health record. She blamed many of the illnesses on unsanitary home conditions, an abrupt change in diet and living conditions, bad exercise habits, inadequate medical screening by agency doctors, and incipient eye and lung diseases. Waldron may have been right. Statistics demonstrate that as reservation conditions began to improve, so too did the health of Hampton's Indian students. Armstrong's efforts to improve sanitary conditions also played a role. Class buildings were designed to provide proper lighting and ventilation, dormitories were kept clean, and overcrowding of Indian pupils was now avoided at all costs. Some students also headed north to live with white families who promised to nurse them back to health. As a result, student mortality rates dropped dramatically after 1886.[9]

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[8]SCA, RCIA (1882), in House Executive Document no. 1, 47th Cong., 2d sess., serial 2100, 184.

[9]The mortality rates for the years 1879 to 1881 was 4.3 percent; for the years 1882 to 1884 it was 3.2 percent; for the years 1885 to 1887 the mortality rate dropped to 2.8 percent. Martha Waldron, RCIA (1887), House Executive

In 1889, Waldron reported that only three Indians had died during the previous thirty-two months. In Waldron's opinion, "the average health of the parties brought from the West is noticeably better than it was eight years ago."[10] Cora Folsom agreed with Waldron's findings. She reported that "in the earliest years of this school the Indians were brought from camp life to a climate and mode of living so new to them that their frail and diseased bodies had to give way under the strain."[11] Indian children still died during their Hampton stay, but rarely after 1890. In fact, only two Indians, Hattie Kellogg, an Apache afflicted with tuberculosis, and Walter Little Eagle (Crow Creek Sioux), died at Hampton between 1891 and 1899.[12] Medical screenings

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Document no. 1, 50th Cong., 1st sess., serial 2542, 346-47; RCIA (1888), House Executive Document no. 1, 50th Cong., 2d sess., serial 2637, 280; Waldron, in Ten Years' Work, 18; Waldron, "The Indian Health Question," Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference (1890), 131-36; Waldron, "The Indian Health Question," Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1890 (Washington, D.C., 1891), 138-42; SW 19 (December 1890), 127; "Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Principal," SW 19 (June 1890), 65-66.

[10]Waldron, RCIA (1889), House Executive Document no. 1, 51st Cong., 1st sess., serial 2725, 376.

[11]CMF, in RCIA (1889), serial 2725, 377-79. Until 1884, three to five native pupils died annually at Hampton. Since October 1886, however, only three native pupils perished.

[12]HBF, "Annual Report," SW 24 (June 1895), 94; RCIA (1895), House Document no. 5, 54th Cong., 1st sess., serial 3382, 413. The Apache pupils had been prisoners of war and Hampton officials reported that most of pupils in the Apache party of 1894 suffered from various ailments. Their prolonged confinement played a key role in their sickness

helped weed out sickly pupils, and Hampton's team of medical professionals kept a vigilant watch for any signs of scrofula or tuberculosis.[13]

The changing composition of the student body also played a key role in improving health conditions at the school. Oneida pupils and other students coming to Hampton from "civilized life" often arrived at the school in perfect health. Though 110 Oneida scholars had entered Hampton by 1898, none of them died at the school. Even more impressive, only one Oneida pupil perished a short time after leaving the school, and no Oneidas returned home because of failing health. These students, many of whom worked their way through the school, prospered because they, unlike many of the Indians from western reservations, wanted to be at Hampton. Iroquois pupils were also more acculturated than the Lakota students who died at Hampton. Oneida students also lived in close proximity to whites and had more exposure to the deadly pathogens that had killed

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and depressed mental state. Students who died after 1895 included: Bertha Mountain Sheep (Crow) who died in Massachusetts in 1908; Agnes Gillette (Arikara) in 1900; Daniel Dorchester (Yuma) in 1904; James Goings (Pine Ridge Sioux) in 1901, Abel Wolfe (Eastern Band Cherokee) in 1901.

[13]"Indian Death Rate," SW 28 (February 1899), 44; RCIA (1890), House Executive Document no. 1, 51st Cong., 2d sess., serial 2841, 319; RCIA (1891), House Executive Document no. 1, 52d Cong., 1st sess., serial 2934, 605; RCIA (1892), House Executive Document no. 1, 52d Cong., 2d sess., serial 3088, 696. One male student died during his 1891 outing and a female pupil died of typhoid fever during her 1892 outing.

the natives coming to Hampton from Dakota Territory. Their long association with whites had given Iroquois scholars time to develop resistance to diseases that were killing the young Lakotas.[14]

Ironically, just as Hampton's competent medical staff had conquered the high rate of illness at the school, one prominent critic nearly cost the institution its government funding. Rev. Thomas Childs inspected Hampton's program for American Indian students in 1887. Childs later wrote that the failing health of Hampton's Indian students provided ample justification for ending the program and transferring the Indians to other government boarding schools. Though Childs's detailed report expressed grave concern about the high rate of illness at Hampton, he did applaud school authorities for attempting to prevent sickness by changing the Indians' diets and improving their access to medical care. The investigator blamed the hot and humid climate and a poor diet for causing many of the students' illnesses and ultimately recommended sending Indian youth to Carlisle over Hampton because Pratt's school offered "equal educational advantages at less serious risk of life and health."[15]

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[14]RCIA (1898), House Executive Document no. 5, 55th Cong., 3d sess., serial 3757, 404; Nancy Oestreich Lurie, Wisconsin Indians (Madison, 1987), 12.

[15]Rev. Thomas S. Childs, D.D., Inspector & c., Washington D.C., Reply from SCA [copy] in Childs Report Box, HUA; Childs Report mss, HUA; "Indians at Hampton," Report of Principal to Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1878-1916, 10-11, HUA; Landmark (Norfolk, VA) "The

Hampton officials, who were now engaged in a battle for the survival of the Indian program, countered the minister's accusations with a well organized media campaign. Dr. Waldron remarked that "it is my experience that the Indians at Hampton, who were sound on arrival here, have, as a rule, done well." During the Indian program's first ten years, 499 native pupils from a variety of agencies and ranging in age from infancy to adulthood enrolled in the school. Of these, 31 native scholars (6 percent), including one infant and two small children, died during their tenure at Hampton. Moreover, most of the deceased arrived at Hampton too ill ever to attend classes. In fact, 14 (45 percent) of those who died at Hampton came to the school from the Crow Creek and Lower Brulè Agencies. Dr. Waldron argued that unhealthy reservation conditions and a lack of adequate health care contributed to these students' demise. From 1878 until 1888, 111 native students (22 percent) were returned to their homes in poor health. Of these, 71 (64 percent) had failed their initial medical examination and suffered from various lung ailments. Waldron noted that the return of sickly pupils "was a matter of precaution." Instead of dying during their stay, Waldron argued that the

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Little Indians of the Hampton School," June 20, 1889.

facts demonstrated "that the general health of Indian students improves at the school."[16]

Mary Collins, a missionary to the Dakotas, also defended Hampton's health record. "I think if the matter is looked into fully," declared Collins, "as many [Indians] die from boarding and day schools at home as from Eastern schools." Collins reported that only one returned student in her village had died during the last three years. During that same period, however, three children who attended the day school and twenty-one persons who never attended any school also died. The missionary blamed poor living conditions and extreme poverty for killing Indians. "Their only hope is a common knowledge of every-day affairs, which shall protect them from their enemy, the unscrupulous white man, and in knowledge of physical and moral laws, with the improvement of the home conditions which must follow." "To

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[16]"Statement by M.M. Waldron, M.D., Resident Physician [March 12, 1888]," Miscellaneous Indian Information to be Sorted Box, "Deaths of Indians, 1878-1888 File," HUA; M.M. Waldron, M.D., to Rev. T.S. Childs, Washington, D.C., December 21, 1887 [copy], Childs Report Box, HUA.; "Memorandum in regard to death and sickness among Indians at Hampton Institute, Va.," dated February 1888, in Miscellaneous Indian Information Box, "Deaths of Indians, 1878-1888" File, HUA; Waldron, n Ten Years' Work, 18-21; Waldron, in Twenty-Two Years' Work, 494-502; Waldron, "The Indian Health Question," Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference (1890), 131-36; Waldron, "The Relation of the School to the Indian Health Question," Speech delivered before the U.S. Indian Educational Association, St. Paul, MN, July 1896, in Students: Health Information Box, HUA.

withold education," warned Collins, "is to condemn to death."[17]

Armstrong's publication campaign and statistical evidence designed to ease the fears of Hampton's critics carried the day. Funding for the Indian program remained in place, but the events that unfolded during the 1880s could, and often did, repeat themselves. Hampton's status as a private institution receiving public money made it a vulnerable target. The improved health of the student body after 1888 merely granted Hampton a temporary reprieve.

Expansion of the Indian Program

The Plains wars, it appeared, had been replaced by a different kind of warfare, a battle for the hearts and minds of the next generation of American Indian leaders. Though government bureaucrats, educators, and missionaries moved forward with their assimilationist agenda, native scholars frequently had different plans for their own futures. Many tribal leaders had recognized the need to adapt to changing conditions. Reservation life was fast becoming a reality,

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[17]Mary Collins, quoted in CMF, unpub. mss., 142-43, HUA. Two members of the Board of Indian Commissioners, Eliphalet Whittlesey and Albert K. Smiley, visited Hampton to investigate the condition and management of Hampton, paying special attention to the discipline, diet, and health of the native scholars. Though the pair recommended minor dietary and disciplinary changes, they refuted Childs' charges. "Report of E. Whittlesey and Albert K. Smiley, Twentieth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1888 (Washington, D.C., 1889), 11-14; SW 18 (July 1889), 77, 80; SW 18 (August 1889), 85; SW 18 (September 1889), 93, 96.

and westward-moving Americans grabbed as much land as they could. Acquiring an education, reasoned forward-looking chiefs and elders, would help native American children compete with their unwelcome neighbors on an equal footing. Educated Indians would be able to read and understand contracts. Moreover, returned students skilled in a variety of manual trades could find work in the agency shops or neighboring communities. In short, Indians trained in the schools of their former enemies would be better prepared to use their skills to assist their own people during a difficult period of transition.[18]

In many instances, tribal leaders encouraged Indian youth to attend Hampton. Armstrong reported that "for more than a century the Indian rejected our civilization. Now their thinking men (for they are a race of thinkers), forecast the future, and wish their children taught the white man's way as the only hope." He also believed the choice was not voluntary. "They do not choose this," noted Armstrong, "they are compelled to it; hundreds, thousands, are waiting and glad to work for an education."[19]

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[18]SW 8 (April 1879), 43-44, a letter from Skunks-Head, Fort Berthold, D.T., February 3, 1879, to RHP, HI. Lindsey mistakenly dismisses the notion that educated pupils could serve as cultural brokers who helped bridge the gap separating Indian and white cultures. As a result, he fails to recognize the many ways native scholars subverted the educational process to meet their individual needs. See Indians at Hampton Institute, 219.

[19]SCA, "The Indian Question," (Hampton, 1883), 21-22.

Thomas Wildcat Alford and John King, two promising Absentee-Shawnees from prominent families, were sent to Hampton by their tribal council. Alford later recalled that "there was a feeling among our people that some of our young men should be educated so they could read and write, and understand what was written in the treaties and old documents in our possession. Some thought we would be more able to take our own part in controversies that were continually arising between our people and the government, if our young people could read. Or, as one chief put it, 'it would enable us to use the club of the white man's wisdom against him in defense of our customs and our Mee-saw-mi as given us by the Great Spirit.'"[20]

The question of sending native children away to learn the "white peoples' ways" divided the tribal council. In time, however, a majority of Absentee-Shawnee elders realized that education and civilization would be forced upon them if they refused it. There was, it seemed, no way to avoid it. Sending Indian children to schools would help the next generation fight whites with their own weapons, printed words. Perceptive leaders also recognized that skills learned in school could be transformed into weapons of personal and tribal salvation. Educated natives would familiarize themselves with the language, knowledge, and

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[20]Thomas Wildcat Alford, Civilization and the Story of the Absentee Shawnees (Norman, 1936; reprint, 1979), 73.

customs of the dominant society. They could then serve as cultural brokers assisting their own people through a difficult period of accommodation to reservation life.[21]

Other Indian leaders also recognized the power of an education. Francis LaFlesche (Iron Eyes), an Omaha chief and leader of his tribe's progressive faction, insisted that his children receive formal training. Iron Eyes believed that whites would continue their march west and would only increase in strength and numbers. LaFlesche, the son of a French trader and a Ponca woman who was adopted by Big Elk, the principal Omaha chief, predicted a bleak future for Indians unless natives learned the ways of the newcomers and attempted to work with them. Iron Eyes urged other Omahas to send their children to school so they could adjust to life in a changed world. The chief's decision was influenced by the fact that Omaha people had always placed a high value on serious thinking and the belief that careful study could bring about a reasonable conclusion to any problem. This philosophical outlook derived from a sacred legend which asserted that forward movement and advancement came from thought. The legend, which related Omaha origin

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[21]Ibid., 79; Michael Coleman, American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930 (Jackson, MS, 1993), 60-68. Other prominent chiefs who sent their children and relatives for similar reasons included: Moses and Frank Keokuk (Sac & Fox), Antonio (Pima), Wizi (Crow Creek Sioux), Big Mane (Lower Brulè Sioux), Little No Heart (Minniconjou Sioux).

and development, repeatedly said, "And the people thought."[22]

Traditional education of Omaha children prepared them for a life based on both hunting and agriculture. By the 1860s, however, LaFlesche had realized that the traditional way of life was dying and traditional roles were becoming obsolete. Boys no longer hunted game or fought their enemies in battle. Moreover, young girls could not dress skins or fashion garments of leather and fur when the materials were no longer available. Elders wondered, "How could men till the soil when it had always been the duty of women?" Chief Iron Eyes, like other progressive leaders, advocated formal academic training for Indian children to ensure tribal survival. Omahas would, as they had done before, creatively adapt to new conditions. Young Omaha boys and girls would learn all that they could from whites. They would attend their schools and learn their language. Educated Indians would then return home to help lead other tribal members down the path of progress. Failure to do so,

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[22]Oo-Ma-Ha-Ta-Wa-The. The Omaha Tribe, by Alice Fletcher, cited in Norma Kidd Green, Iron Eye's Family (Lincoln, NB, 1969), 7-8, 23, 36-37; Alice C. Fletcher and Francis LaFlesche, The Omaha Tribe, 2 vols. (Lincoln, NB, 1992), 2:631-35; Joan Mark, A Stranger in Her Native Land, 70; Francis LaFlesche, The Middle Five (Lincoln, NB, 1978), x-xi, 127-28.

reasoned Iron Eyes, insured pain and suffering of the Omaha people.[23]

LaFlesche epitomized the tribal leader who perceived that education was power. It gave those who acquired it a degree of independence. Returned pupils schooled in the ways of their former enemies could serve their people as interpreters and use their academic training to defend Indian people against the wiles and depredations of white society. Educated natives could also defend tribal land claims and preserve their tribes' cherished traditions. Hampton teachers and government officials may have had their own agenda, but so did American Indians. Native scholars were more than just victims of a well-orchestrated agenda designed to transform them into Anglo-Saxons. Training available at Hampton often resulted in the cultural enlargement, not in the psychological diminishment, of native students.[24]

Lack of family and kin ties also determined whether tribal councils, reservation agents, and missionaries sent

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[23]Iron Eye's Family, 38, 42-43, 55; Fletcher and LaFlesche, The Omaha Tribe, 2:327-33.

[24]Malcolm McFee called these students "150% Indian." He argued that their participation in two cultures enriched them. L.G. Moses and Raymond Wilson argued that educated natives lived not in two worlds, but in one "complex world of multiple loyalties." See Malcolm McFee, "The 150% Man: A Product of Blackfeet Acculturation," American Anthropologist 70 (1968), 1096-1107; Moses and Wilson, Indian Lives (Albuquerque, 1985), 3; James A. Clifton, "Alternate Identities and Cultural Frontiers," in Clifton, Ed., Being and Becoming Indian (Chicago, 1988), 26-33.

children to Hampton. Six Lower Brulè pupils in Pratt's Dakota Party were "mostly orphans." Another member of the western party, John Robb (Cheyenne River Sioux) was the son of White Bull, a deceased chief. Robb's adoptive father, a white agency trader sent the young man to Hampton for additional training.[25] For these pupils without surviving family members, Hampton often became a sort of surrogate parent. Thomas Butler Reed (Aleut) informed his scholarship donors that he was orphaned as a child and raised by Episcopalian missionaries. Thomas attended a mission school in Anvik, Alaska, and was encouraged to enter Hampton "to learn as much as I can about handling tools." The eager pupil also reported that the missionaries hoped he would return to Alaska "and do all I can for the Indians who are in great need of men and women to work among them."[26]

Other Indians came to Hampton because they valued the training available at the school. Benjamin Franklin Bishop (Seneca) wrote that "my experience taught me that a man without a trade is like a man adrift on the ocean in a small

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[25]John Robb's Biography Sheet, in SF, HUA.

[26]Thomas B. Reed, letter to the First Congregational Sunday School, Milford, CT, February 25, 1916; Thomas B. Reed, Letter to Miss Tappen, November 15, 1916, letters in SF, HUA. A sampling of orphans sent to Hampton includes: Henry Bear (Winnebago), Jones Beaver (Absentee-Shawnee), William Chisholm (Chippewa), Juan Garfield (Pima), Juan Herrera (Navajo), Dudley Poodry (Seneca), Grover Shanks (Seneca), William Smith (Navajo), Leroy Snow (Seneca). Many of them, like Thomas Reed, had been reared by missionaries.

boat without oars."[27] If Hampton failed to live up to the Indians' expectations, they rebelled or simply left the school without permission. Joseph DuBray (Yankton Sioux) captured the spirit of these pupils when he declared that "the Indian must provide himself with the same weapon as the white man, and that is knowledge."[28] Indian students, like many of their tribal leaders, realized that a new day was dawning for native peoples. Michael Wolfe (Chippewa) remarked that "the old free life in the forest and in the Plains is no longer ours. We have to fit ourselves to the white man's mode of living or else perish . . . At Hampton we find not only the old Indian teachings renewed, but we are trained, besides to fit ourselves to defend our rights and to help our fellow man."[29]

Female Indians frequently came to Hampton for similar reasons. They, too, wanted to prepare themselves to help their people cope with changing conditions. One student, Flora Brown (Absentee-Shawnee), decided to enter Hampton after reading the school's catalogue. Brown wrote that "in

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[27]Franklin Bishop, October 1906 Scholarship letter, to Munn Ave. Presbyterian Sunday School, East Orange, NJ; Bishop, "The Advantages of a Trade," SW 38 (June 1909), both items in SF, HUA.

[28]Joseph DuBray, T&T (March 1894), in SF, HUA.

[29]Wolfe quoted by W.A.E., "Indian Day at Hampton," New York Post, February 13, 1912. Fred Bender (Chippewa) expresses a similar view in "Higher Academic Training for Indians," American Indian Magazine (Summer 1917), 103-106, in SF, HUA.

reading the catalogue of Hampton Institute I found that the student was educated for the home and not to go among white people. I knew then that Hampton Institute was the place for me to come."[30] These students, increasingly more prevalent during the 1890s, saw Hampton as an opportunity, not as an institution bent on destroying their culture.[31]

It was common for native children whose family owned a farm or held land in severalty to enroll in Hampton's agricultural program. Charles Reese Alford exemplified the type of student who saw an education as beneficial. He came to Hampton "to get an education and to learn some kind of

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[30]Flora Brown, to "Kind Friends," November 20, 1900, SF, HUA.

[31]Not surprisingly, Indians who came to Hampton for the purpose of acquiring knowledge to help their own people excelled in their studies. They also made remarkable records after leaving Hampton. Quite a few of them, like Mike Wolfe (Chippewa), Jacob Morgan (Navajo), and Peter Beauchamp (Arikara) later became chiefs. Still others--Susan LaFlesche (Omaha), Anna Dawson (Arikara), Marguerite LaFlesche (Omaha), Addie Stevens (Winnebago), Andrew Elm (Oneida), George Frazier (Santee Sioux), Angel DeCora (Winnebago), Lula Owl (Eastern Band Cherokee), and Eugene Smith (Oneida)--served the physical, educational and medical needs of Indian peoples. Religiously-inclined pupils, especially Ben Brave (Lower Brulè Sioux), Walter David Owl (Eastern Band Cherokee), and Herbert Welsh (Standing Rock Sioux), later ministered to the spiritual needs of their people. And a small, but gifted cadre of Indian alumni which included William Jones (Sac & Fox), Will West Long (Eastern Band Cherokee), John Lolorias (Papago), James Murie (Pawnee), Thomas Wildcat Alford (Absentee-Shawnee), Robert Higheagle (Standing Rock Sioux), George Bushotter (Lower Brulè Sioux), and John Bruyier (Crow Creek Sioux), devoted their talents to preserving cherished tribal histories and traditions. For these students, and countless others like them, knowledge was power. Educated Indians could, and frequently did, use the teachings of the dominant society to protect and guide their own people.

trade so I will amount to something in this world."[32] Alford, who intended to farm his own allotment, especially liked Hampton's agricultural offerings. "I feel that agriculture is good for me as well as the rest of the Indians who have land, and if we know how to properly farm it we need not ever be without an education," he noted.[33] Students wanting to learn more about stock raising also came to Hampton.

Not every Indian student, however, came to Hampton voluntarily. During the early years of the Indian program many natives enrolled in the institution against their will. In 1880 Armstrong announced that "about seventy of our children are the sons and daughters of chiefs and most of the remainder belong to leading men." According to Hampton's principal, tribal elders deliberately sent their children east because they "know that there is no hope for them but in taking the white man's road." More important, Armstrong and government officials recognized the pacifying effect boarding schools had on tribal leaders. Potentially hostile bands would not fight as long as their beloved children were away at school.[34]

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[32]Charles Alford, October 6, 1902, letter to HBF, in SF, HUA.

[33]Charles Alford, Scholarship Letter, December 8, 1904, in SF, HUA.

[34]SCA, "Indian Education in the East," SW 9 (November 1880), 114. By 1880 children of the following chiefs had enrolled at Hampton: Sioux--White Thunder, Two Strikes,

To acquire an ample supply of "hostages," Hampton recruiters occasionally employed strong-arm tactics during their frequent western trips. In 1884, J.J. Gravatt, an Episcopal minister recruiting for Hampton, visited an Indian camp in Dakota Territory. During a prearranged council, Gravatt attempted to persuade a group of skeptical elders to send their children to Hampton so they could learn white people's ways. When his proposal failed to break through the council's indifference, the agent warned Hump, a Lakota chief, that anyone refusing to send a child to Hampton would forfeit his or her government rations. The threat merely strengthened the aged chief's resolve not to part with Indian children, even if the decision meant economic hardship. Gravatt's party experienced a similar rebuke during a visit to Black Wolf's camp. Intimidation tactics failed because tribal leaders would not part with their children unless they valued the training Indian youth would receive.[35]

On occasion, some Indians were taken to Hampton without their parents' permission when a step-parent, guardian, or relative signed the necessary consent forms. Angel DeCora (Winnebago), one of Hampton's most illustrious Indian

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Black Crow, Whirlwind Soldier, Quick Bear, Swift Bear, Brave Bull, Long Face, American Horse, Black Bear, Blue Horse, High Wolf, and Red Cloud's grandchild; Arapaho--Little Raven, Left Hand, Yellow Bear; Cheyenne--Big Horse, Bob Tail, Heap of Birds, and Black Kettle.

[35]CMF, unpub. mss., 116-117, HUA.

graduates, shocked Cora Folsom, her former Hampton teacher, when she informed her that she was taken to Hampton without her mother's permission. The Smith College graduate, now an art teacher at Carlisle, recalled how she had been taken to the agency school by her uncle. A few days later a man arrived "asking the pupils to go on a long distance on the steam cars." Though DeCora refused to leave the agency, she and other female pupils were fitted for dresses. The next morning, a group of Indian children piled into a lumber wagon and traveled to Sioux City. DeCora later learned that she had been "kidnapped," for her mother never consented to her leaving the reservation. Will Harris (Winnebago) experienced a similar fate. Apparently DeCora's uncle (Harris's step-father) had signed the required consent forms. DeCora did not blame Hampton. She reassured her friend that she bore no ill will. "All of this occurred in the 'pioneer' day of Indian education when the Indians were loath to give up their young people into the hands of the whites to be trained in ways totally strange to them," she wrote.[36]

Like the Fort Marion prisoners several years before them, Apache children also came to Hampton after a prolonged

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[36]Angel DeCora, Carlisle, PA, January 29, 1912, to CMF, in SF, HUA. D.M. Browning, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, made it illegal to send Indian children to off-reservation schools without parental consent. See RCIA (1893), House Executive Document no. 1, 53d Cong., 2d sess., serial 3210, 10-11.

period of confinement. Beginning in 1888, Armstrong made a public appeal during the Lake Mohonk Conference on behalf of the Apache prisoners of war. He was especially angered by the fact that the education of the Apache children had been neglected by government officials. "We have no right to hold these innocent men as prisoners," he proclaimed. Armstrong also scolded government officials for detaining innocent bystanders and Apache scouts who tracked down Geronimo for the military, only to be shackled and sent to Florida with him. He then stunned the delegates by proposing that money be raised to purchase 800 acres of fine land along the Back River near Hampton, Virginia, for the Apache prisoners. General George Crook, Albert Smiley, and Herbert Welsh visited the site and supported the general's recommendation.[37] The plan was never approved, largely because Richard Henry Pratt lobbied against the proposal. Pratt opposed the decision to send the Apache pupils to Hampton "on the grounds of the unhealthiness of the place and of the degrading, demoralizing influence of the 'inferior' colored race and the 'low' surrounding population of Negroes."[38]

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[37]SCA, Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference (1888), 99-100; L. Q. C. [Lucius Lamar], Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D.C., October 13, 1886, to SCA, HI, in Office of Indian Affairs, Department of Interior, Armstrong Box, HUA; Isabel Eustis, "Apaches at Fort Marion," SW 15 (July 1886), 84.

[38]HWL, to CMF, Hampton, VA, February 17, 1888, in Captain Pratt Box, HUA.

Despite Pratt's opposition, twenty-one Apache pupils eventually came to Hampton.[39] Concerned Indian Rights Association members had lobbied government officials to transfer the 375 prisoners from Fort Marion to the Mount Vernon Barracks in Alabama. In 1889, the Boston Citizenship Committee dispatched two teachers to Alabama. Apache children came to Hampton five years later. Isabel Eustis, a Hampton employee, remarked: "As we watched the strange group we could forget the rags and dirt and admire the courage and endurance of women, who, carrying heavy burdens, had kept pace with their husbands and brothers along blind trails, over the wildest mountain passes." One of the arrivals, Paul Naiche, was the son of Naiche, the hereditary Chiricahua leader.[40]

Former students proved to be Hampton's best recruiters. Many taught in reservation day schools, worked in the agency shops, or assumed positions of leadership within their home communities.[41] The reputation of the school's Indian alumni

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[39]S & L, "Apache Children at Hampton," SW 23 (August 1894), 46; "Attendance and Enrollment of Indian Students at Hampton Institute," Indian Affairs, Student Information Box, HUA; Vicentine Booth "A Little Apache," SW (March 1895), in Hattie Kellogg's SF, HUA. Apache arrivals included: Vincent Eskiaz, Paul Naiche, Jamie Holly, Sophie To Clanny, Alice Longfellow, Josephine Behodo, Pauline Shooey, and Hattie Kellogg (who later died at Hampton in February 1895).

[40]T&T (April 1894), SW (December 1897), Red Man (November 1910), clippings in Naiche's SF, HUA. See also Angel Decora's portrait of Paul in the April 1900 issue of the SW.

[41]CMF, unpub. mss., HUA, 124-25.

played an important role in securing native pupils. Frequently boarding school employees, like Florence Whistler, contacted Hampton officials about sending Indians to Hampton. Whistler wrote that "We have heard much about Hampton from our school blacksmith Nelson Metoxen, and our Disciplinarian Chauncey R. Doxtater and his wife Rhoda Wheelock. Judging the work of Hampton by these three we have formed a good opinion of the school."[42] Thomas G. Lemmon, the superintendent of the Indian school in Grand Junction, Colorado, explained why he encouraged his students to attend Hampton. "The best Indians I have known, I refer to the people who have grown old enough to show the effects of their training," wrote Lemmon, "are Hampton pupils and it is for that reason and that only that I want those from my school to go to Hampton."[43]

Agency employees also praised former Hamptonians. J. C. Beveridge, a clerk at the Crow Creek Agency, reported the influence of Andrew Fox and Frank Pamani, two former Hamptonians. "The Indians were at first disposed to regard Hampton as a sort of educational trap set by the white men to catch and swallow their children. The return of these

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[42]Florence Whistler, Lac duFlambeau, WI, November 15, 1907, to HBF, letter in Chauncey Doxtater's SF, HUA.

[43]Thomas Lemmon, Grand Junction, CO, October 7, 1902, to J.E. Davis, HI, in Antonito Azul's SF, HUA. Lemmon remarked that he was influenced by the example of the following Hampton alumni: Antonito and Harry Azul, Kisto Jackson, Oliver Eaton, John Walker, John Lolorias, and John Chooromi.

scholars has entirely unfixed this prejudice and secured the full confidence of the Indians. They are now anxious to send their children away."[44]

Positive comments regarding Hampton and the school's reputation often influenced students attending other institutions to apply for admission. Irving Boutang (Chippewa) heard about Hampton while attending the Pipestone school in Minnesota. He noted that "the teachers and students used to talk a great deal of Hampton . . . I used to say to myself I will go to that institute some day."[45] Another student, Robert Big Thunder (Winnebago), also learned about Hampton while attending an agency school. Big Thunder exclaimed: "I had the fever of Hampton, I couldn't hold myself, I jumped around [and] wanted very much to enter Hampton Institute."[46]

Indian alumni were Hampton's strongest asset. Fellow tribal members often looked up to these returned students and hoped that their own children could emulate their

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[44]Letter extract of J.C. Beveridge, SW (April 1882) in Andrew Fox's SF, HUA; J.J. Gravatt, Crow Creek Agency, D.T., October 6, 1884, to SCA, in "General S.C.A." File, U.S. Indian Service Box, HUA. Ironically, however, Fox later used his English skills to assist Sitting Bull and became the only returned Indian pupil from Hampton to actively participate in the Ghost Dance.

[45]Irving Boutang, Scholarship Letter dated March 28, 1904, in SF, HUA.

[46]Robert Big Thunder, March 19, 1910, to "Dear Friends," in SF, HUA. Dennie Jackson (Cayuga), Edison Crouse (Seneca), and Davis Green (Onondaga) all expressed similar views.

success. A Hampton education sounded like a good place to start. Anna Dawson, a field matron at Fort Berthold, arranged to send students to Hampton after the agency school burned down. Through her efforts Hilda Sitting Bear, the daughter of the head Arikara chief, Agnes Gillette, Stella Rogers, Fannie Perkins, Joseph Wilkinson, Alfred Andrews, Peter Beauchamp, and Albert Simpson entered Hampton.[47] Helen Townsend wrote that "gratifying testimony was thus borne to the fact that our returned students are putting their influence on the side of education." Encouraging fellow Indians to attend their alma mater also "spoke of their love & loyalty to Hampton."[48]

Returned pupils also encouraged younger siblings to enroll in Hampton. Amy Skenandore, explaining why she and six siblings attended Hampton, remarked that "my mother has always been very anxious to have us children go to school and learn, as she herself did not have that opportunity when she was a child."[49] Fanny Frazier (Santee Sioux) reported that "I heard about Hampton thro my brother [Howard] who was

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[47]Anna Dawson, Fort Berthold, ND, April 1, 1898, to Mr. Briggs, HI; SW (July 1898), T&T (July 1898), all items in Dawson's SF, HUA; Hilda Sitting Bear, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA.

[48]Townsend, in JER, "Indian Department," 1900 Report, p. 8-9, Indian Affairs, Student Information Box, HUA; RCIA (1898), serial 3757, 401-402; "Breaking Home Ties," SW 28 (January 1899), 28-29.

[49]Amy Skenandore, to "Dear Friend," January 14, 1908, in SF, HUA.

here several years ago. He used to tell us about the school and how well it was equipped, also the beautiful place it was founded on."[50] In other instances, extended family members informed their relatives about the school. Taylor Glick (Santee Sioux) reported that he came to Hampton because "some of my uncles and aunts have been to Hampton and told me what a nice place it was here so I thought I would like to come and try it."[51]

Forty-two children (twenty-seven males, fifteen females) of former Indian students--Hampton's Indian grandchildren--also attended Hampton Institute. Caroline Murie (Pawnee), the daughter of James Murie, the famous Pawnee ethnologist, informed her scholarship donor that "my father finished here in 1883 and I always took a deep interest in his alma mater that he always wanted one of us to come here and since I always wanted to be a teacher among my people I decided I would come."[52] In some instances,

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[50]Fannie Frazier, "My Dear Friend," April 21, 1922. The three Frazier siblings to attend HI were Emma, Fannie, and Howard. Three cousins also attended the school (George, Fannie, and Daniel Frazier). Other sibling influences include: Shawnees (Adopted Absentee-Shawnee), Owls (Eastern Band Cherokee), Hills (Oneida), Elms (Oneida), Congers (Yankton Sioux), Millers (Stockbridge), and LaFlesches (Omahas).

[51]Taylor Glick, 1898-99 Scholarship letter to Mr. Justus Hotchkiss, in SF, HUA.

[52]Caroline Murie, to "Dear Friend," December 7, 1912, SF, HUA. I have not included children who participated in Hampton's family program. Consult Appendix C for a listing of Hampton's Indian "grandchildren."

both parents had attended Hampton. James Jesse Skenandore (Oneida) remarked that "I am the grandchild of this school, my father [James Skenandore] and mother [Electa Cooper] were both here. The reason I came to Hampton is because my mother have often talk[ed] of the splendid education that Hampton is giving to the Indians and colar [colored] students."[53] Armell Stabler (Omaha) expressed similar reasons for heading east. "My mother [Josephine Armell] and father [Roy Stabler] both came to Hampton, and ever since I can remember they always talked about sending me to Hampton."[54]

Indians came to Hampton for a variety of reasons. Many mechanically-inclined pupils, especially Iroquois students, wanted to learn skills that only Hampton offered. Other native scholars enrolled at the urging of family members or tribal elders. Sadly, however, a large group of Indian pupils had no say in the matter. The earliest Dakota Territory arrivals and a later contingent of Apache youth were confined to Hampton as part of an elaborate plan designed to pacify recalcitrant leaders who threatened to bolt the reservations or to quiet Indians who dared to challenge federal policies and government treaties. After the mid-1890s, however, Hampton authorities no longer

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[53]James Jesse Skenandore, "My Dear Friend," HI, March 5, 1914, in SF, HUA.

[54]Armell Stabler, Scholarship letter dated April 14, 1920, SF, HUA.

enrolled student hostages when Hollis Frissell changed the focus of Hampton's course offerings. Though minor adjustments were made to the school's curriculum, Hampton continued to tout itself as "a little world unto itself" where Indian and black scholars received a thorough dose of academic, vocational, and religious training.

Chapter IV

"A Strong Stroke in the Tide of Civilization": Training the Head, Hand, and Heart at Hampton

Samuel Chapman Armstrong argued that only the dignity of labor could save Indians from the millstone of government rations and annuities that threatened to grind them into poverty. To prevent such an occurrence, Hampton's founder tried to prepare the school's native American students "for the duties of life and citizenship anywhere."[1] To accomplish this daunting task, he fashioned a curriculum that cultivated industry, perseverance, honesty, and a sense of devotion to others. Only those qualities, he reasoned, could transform pliable native youth into cultural missionaries capable of leading and serving others.[2]

Hampton's founder had tackled two major obstacles at once. He desperately hoped to engineer a peaceful solution

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[1]SCA, in Ten Years' Work for Indians at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia, 1878-1888 (Hampton, 1888), 37.

[2]SCA, "Education of the Indian," Journal of the Proceedings and Addresses of the National Educational Association, 1884 (Boston, 1885), 177-80; Francis G. Peabody, Education for Life (New York, 1918), 198-200.

to the nation's "Indian problem," yet he was equally committed to introducing native scholars to a "civilized" way of life.[3] Like other boarding schools of the era, Armstrong employed the "half and half" routine. School authorities roused students every morning at 5:15 a.m. and expected them to be on time for breakfast forty-five minutes later. Following morning inspection, students attended various prayer services before beginning their day. Most Indian scholars spent their mornings in the classroom struggling to learn English, math, geography, history, and literature. Following a one-hour lunch break, students labored on the school farm or at their trades until the evening meal.[4]

Hampton's curriculum emphasized practical skills designed to develop the students' self-respect while simultaneously preparing them for lives of self-support. "Three years at Hampton," boasted Armstrong, "will, I believe, fit Indians for a life of usefulness and decency in

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[3]SCA, RCIA (1880), House Executive Document no. 1., 46th Cong., 3d sess., serial 1959, 184; SCA, "The Indian Question," (Hampton, 1883), 4-5; SCA, SW 7 (May 1878), 44; SCA in Edith Armstrong Talbot, Samuel Chapman Armstrong (New York, 1904), 254; Isaac Fisher, "The Unique Educational Philosophy of Samuel Chapman Armstrong Founder of Hampton Institute." Typewritten manuscript (1934), HUA.

[4]"Indians at Hampton," Report of Principal to Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1878 - [1916], 2-4, HUA; RCIA (1881), House Executive Document no. 1, 47th Cong., 1st sess., serial 2018, 253.

their own homes."[5] Hampton instructors stressed the importance of hard work because bleak reservation conditions demanded that the Indians "either go to work or go to the wall."[6] Work also had educative power. Armstrong noted that "the Indian question will never be settled till you make the Indian blister his hands. No people ever emerged from barbarism that did not emerge through labor."[7]

Armstrong ignored the naysayers who prophesied that educated Indians would relapse or "return to the blanket" after leaving school. Hampton's founder argued that a sound course of study could prevent such a scenario from occurring. "By their studying one-half the day and working the other half, by being built up in ideas, and in working skills and habits, and by a radical change of the inner

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[5]SCA, RCIA (1880), serial 1959, 183.

[6]Ibid., 182-183; SCA quoted in Talbot, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, 280; William H. Robinson, "Indian Education at Hampton Institute," in Stony the Road, Ed. Keith L. Schall (Charlottesville, VA, 1977), 11.

[7]SCA quoted in Talbot, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, 214. Hampton's academic offerings were equivalent to those taught at elementary schools. Academic standards improved during the 1890s as Indian pupils with prior schooling began to arrive and the academic course was expanded to four years in 1904. During the 1921-1922 academic year the Academic-Normal curriculum was replaced by a six-year course of study and the program in Agriculture replaced by a three-year collegiate course. See James Gregg, "Fifty-Second Annual Report of the Principal," SW 49 (June 1920), 268-92; Gregg, "Fifty-First Annual Report of the Principal," SW 48 (May 1919), 308.

life, we believe they will, as a whole, stand the test of returning home."[8]

Learning involved more than a brain full of facts and figures; it involved character building. As a result, Armstrong strove to train the hands, the heads, and the hearts of Hampton's Indian and black students. He reasoned that only a combination of academic and vocational training prepared selected youth of both races to be examples to, and teachers of, their own people.[9]

Faculty members soon learned, however, that character formation was hard work. The desired end could only be obtained by developing Christian character, instilling habits of industry, and nurturing a deep moral earnestness for the welfare of one's race. The educational process also called for willing and obedient scholars. But Indian pupils often arrived at the institution with their own educational agenda. These students embraced the parts of Hampton's curriculum that met their individual needs. If Hampton failed to live up to their expectations, many pupils took

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[8]SCA, RCIA (1880), serial 1959, 182-83; SCA, Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference (1889), 34.

[9]Ten Years' Work, 5; Talbot, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, 276-77; William H. Robinson, "The History of Hampton Institute, 1848-1949," (Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1953), 71, 89-93. Robinson effectively demonstrates that SCA drew heavily from the educational theories of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, a European educator who attempted to rehabilitate a depressed people through a manual labor curriculum.

matters into their own hands by running away, getting into trouble, or asking for permission to return to their reservations.

Armstrong never questioned the relevance of Hampton's educational program. He attempted to gauge the conditions students returned to by visiting Indian reservations. These trips merely reinforced his desire to prepare Hampton's native pupils for economic independence. He announced that the Indians "will not return home scared by our great guns and arsenals, but stimulated by contact with the spirit that lies at the bottom of our progress--the spirit of hard work."[10]

Agricultural training was an important part of training the hands of Hampton's students. Indian and black laborers honed their husbandry skills at the school's two farms, the Home (a 110-acre tract also called the Whipple Farm) and Hemenway (a 550-acre farm purchased for Hampton by Mary Tileston Hemenway of Boston). Armstrong acquired the adjoining Canebrake Plantation a few years later and combined the two tracts. Hampton officials renamed the 600-acre farm Shellbanks because oyster shells washed up on the banks of the Back River.[11]

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[10]SCA, "Indian Education in the East," 1880, quoted in Talbot, SCA, 288.

[11]SCA, to J.B. Brown, February 10, 1877; Principal's Letterbook, June 10, 1878 - October 10, 1879, 576-77, Box 2, HUA; Donal Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923 (Urbana, IL, 1995), 43; Robinson, "The History of Hampton

Student farmers raised crops for the school and the local market, worked in a dairy, and gained firsthand experience in livestock management by tending to Hampton's cows, horses, hogs, sheep, and numerous fowl. In addition, both farms were equipped with greenhouses where students learned to flowers and winter vegetables. Indian pupils wanting to specialize in agriculture participated in a three-year course of study. These students learned about soil composition, drainage, crop preparation, plant growth, crop cultivation and rotation, diversified farming, and proper use of manures and fertilizers. In addition, each pupil tended an experimental garden plot where he tested his skills and learned to prepare, package, and ship his produce.[12]

After 1893 Hollis Frissell adjusted the school's agricultural training to meet individuals' specific needs. He reported that "we must understand that Indians are not all alike." Explaining why he interviewed all arriving Indian pupils, Frissell declared that "every year I ask these boys and girls individually about the conditions at their homes, and then we try to adapt the education we offer

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Institute," 274-92.

[12][Lucy Conger], "The Hemenway Farm," T&T (January 1903), in SF, HUA; HWL, "The Shellbanks Farm," SW 24 (October 1905), 533; Ten Years' Work, 26; The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute and its Work for Negro and Indian Youth (Boston, 1899), 8; Mary Lou Hultgren and Paulette Fairbanks Molin, To Lead and to Serve (Virginia Beach, 1989), 27-28.

them to their home environment. I think all education is tending toward individualism. Instead of trying to deal with great masses, it attempts to give each person that which he especially needs, which, it seems to me, is the true idea of education."[13]

To illustrate how Hampton trained pupils for the conditions they would face in their home environments, Frissell cited what Hampton accomplished for the Oneidas of Wisconsin. When a local missionary started plans for an Oneida dairy, Frissell agreed to assist the enterprise. Instructors at the school taught Oneida students how to care for cows and apprenticed them in all aspects of the dairy business. Moreover, Hampton officials used the proceeds from the students' labor to enable the Oneida pupils to purchase shares in the tribe's dairy cows. "And what we have done for the Oneida reservation" noted Frissell, "we are trying to do for the other reservations that need our help."[14]

Hampton's first two principals emphasized agricultural training. Swept up in the reforming zeal of the late

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[13]HBF, "The Value of Conference," Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference, 1900 (LMC, 1901), 102-103; HBF, Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference, 1899 (LMC, 1900), 35.

[14]HBF, "The Value of Conference," 102-103; William S. Dodd, "The Dairy Methods of Hampton Institute," SW 38 (February 1909), 84-91; RCIA (1901), House Document no. 5, 57th Cong., 1st sess., serial 4290, 576-77; "Indians at Hampton," 15, HUA.

nineteenth-century, the educators supported plans calling for the allotment of tribal land holdings. Only by ending communal land ownership, contended proponents of land-in-severalty, would the nomadic hunters of the Great Plains become sedentary farmers. In addition to paving the way for Indian citizenship, allotment had the added benefit of selling "surplus" reservation land to westward-moving pioneers.[15] Thomas Jefferson Morgan, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, aptly summarized the assimilationist aims of the new measure when he noted that "it has become the settled policy of the Government to break up reservations, destroy tribal relations, settle Indians upon their own homesteads, incorporate them into the national life, and deal with them not as nations tribes or bands, but as individual citizens."[16] Not surprisingly, agricultural training at Hampton increased after the General Allotment Act (Dawes Act) became law in 1887. Hampton administrators responded to the new measure by preparing Indian students for the responsibility of operating their own farms and caring for livestock.[17]

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[15]Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference, 1885 (Philadelphia, 1886), 27-29; Leonard Dinnerstein, et. al., Natives and Strangers (New York, 1990), 207; RCIA (1887), House Executive Document no. 1, 50th Congress, 1st sess., serial 2542, 356-59.

[16]Thomas Jefferson Morgan, RCIA (1890), House Executive Document no. 1, 51st Cong., 2d sess., serial 2841, 6.

[17]Delos S. Otis, History of the Allotment Policy: Hearings on H.R. 7902, 73d Cong., 2d sess., U.S. House of

Some native pupils came to Hampton for precisely this reason. Fred Bender (Chippewa) believed that the new law severed "the last link with our old life." As a result, Bender urged fellow Indians at Hampton to seize the opportunity to prepare themselves for citizenship. He also instructed his classmates to educate themselves if they hoped "to stand up with the men of the world and not be lost in the battle of life."[18]

Industrial training was another key component of Hampton's curriculum. "For the practical necessities of Indian life," wrote Armstrong, "their training should be practical. We give half the day to study and half to labor. An education which does not fit them to take care of themselves, may do more harm than good."[19] Hampton's principal hoped to educate men and women of character capable of self-support who would return to their respective communities inspired by the will to serve others. The paramount objective, recalled Helen Ludlow, was to help build character in students by stimulating the mind, forming habits of industry, promptitude, accuracy, and self-help.

Representatives, Committee on Indian Affairs, 1934, pt 9, 428-489; HBF, "Land in Severalty," Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1895 (Washington, 1896), 39-40; SW 18 (April 1889), 46; "Indians at Hampton," 9, HUA.

[18]Fred Bender, February 8, 1914, Indian Citizenship Day Address, in SF, HUA.

[19]SCA, "The Indian Question," (1883), 18; Peabody, Education for Life, 201; Ten Years' Work, 39.

Vocational training also sought to provide native youth with practical skills necessary to earn a living when they returned home. For Indians lacking in funds or those not supported by the government appropriation, vocational training at Hampton also enabled these pupils to work their way through school.[20]

Charles Doxon (Onondaga) became the first Indian student to enter Hampton on the same basis as black students. He later encouraged other Iroquois pupils to follow his example in order to take advantage of Hampton's trade offerings.[21] Doxon's successful stay at Hampton and profitable career after graduating from the school convinced school officials to admit other native scholars, largely Iroquois students denied federal funding, willing to work their way through Hampton. In time, instructors learned that natives willing to work their way through the school excelled at their trades and in the classroom.[22] These pupils worked all day at various trades and attended evening classes with black students until saving enough money to

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[20]Ten Years' Work, 24-25, Robinson, "The History of Hampton Institute," 293-310.

[21]Twenty-Two Years' Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Va. (Hampton, 1893), 395-96, "Record of Returned Indians," 118, HUA; Charles Doxon, "Industrial Education for the Indians," SW 36 (August 1907), 427-29.

[22]Twenty-Two Years' Work, 444-45, 274; "Indian Faculty Meeting," October 6, 1885, HUA; RCIA (1893), House Executive Document no. 1, 53d Cong., 2d sess., serial 3210, 464.

enter the Normal School.[23] Work-study students frequently praised Hampton's course offerings. Many of the would-be tradesmen among the Iroquois longed for an opportunity to acquire manual training because they knew that vocational training opened the door to profitable industrial jobs in Buffalo, Syracuse, Rochester, Green Bay, and Milwaukee.

In addition to preparing student workers for the realities of life, Hampton officials also used the manual trades to improve the school's bottom-line. In October 1880, J.D. McDowell assumed the position of training Indian tradesmen. McDowell immediately set about reorganizing the vocational training program in an effort to apprentice Indian trade students.[24] Economic concerns played an important role in the move. In an effort to encourage student labor at Hampton and Carlisle, the Indian Office promised to purchase student-made products if the boarding schools matched the prices of the contractors' lowest bids. The new policy paid rich dividends for both boarding schools. In 1883, Armstrong reported that the school's

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[23]Twenty-Two Years' Work, 483; RCIA (1897), House Document no. 5, 55th Cong. 2d sess., serial 3641, 383. In 1883 Armstrong reported that twelve Indian boys (17.6 percent of Indian males) were working their way through Hampton. Cornelius N. Bliss, the Secretary of the Interior, finally allowed New York Indians to attend Hampton at the government's expense in 1898. RCIA (1883), House Executive Document no. 1, 48th Cong., 1st sess., serial 2191, 166-69; RCIA (1898), House Document no. 5, 55th Cong., 3d sess., serial 3757, 402.

[24]SCA, "The Indian," Wowapi 1 (November 7, 1883), 65.

industrial workshops supplied the Indian Bureau with 2,000 pairs of brogan shoes, 500 dozen articles of tinware, and 75 sets of double plow harness.[25]

Armstrong defended Hampton against the charges of student exploitation. "While pecuniary profit to the school is a minor consideration to its manual-labor shops," he declared, "every shop and every industrial department is run with the effort to at least make both ends meet, if possible, with justice to the higher purpose." In fact, Armstrong informed his critics that it would have been cheaper to employ steady outside workers instead of boys and novices if school officials wanted to profit from the enterprise.[26] Armstrong maintained that he implemented the trade program to develop students' character, instill in them a sense of discipline, and improve their English language skills. In reality, however, the trades program at Hampton served two masters, pedagogy and profit.[27]

Occasionally, school administrators and Indian parents had different ideas regarding the school's vocational

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[25]SCA, "The Indian Question," (1883), 15; SCA, "Annual Report," SW 10 (June 1881), 63; Ten Years' Work, 28; William H. Robinson, "The History of Hampton Institute, 1868-1949," (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1954), 95-97.

[26]SCA, RCIA (1886), House Executive Document no. 1, 49th Cong., 2d sess., serial 2467, 30.

[27]SW 11 (July 1882), 7; SW 16 (November 1887), 108; Margaret Rosten Muir, "Indian Education at Hampton Institute and Federal Indian Policy," (Master's Thesis, Brown University, 1970), 35.

offerings. If the families' concerns were not addressed by Hampton officials, unhappy parents requested the return of their children. Louis Marago, Kistoe Jackson's father, contacted Armstrong in 1888 to express concerns about the relevancy of his son's boarding school education. Marago informed the principal that Kistoe complained that he did not have enough practice in shoeing horses at Hampton. The dissatisfied parent then instructed Armstrong to send his son home to the Pima Agency where "there is plenty of horseshoeing." Marago promised to apprentice Kistoe to the agency blacksmith who would teach him the profitable trade of shoeing horses.[28]

Indian students also requested changes if their Hampton training did not meet their needs. Thomas Rouillard (Sioux) asked Frederick Briggs, Hampton's Business Manager, for permission to switch trades. Rouillard informed Briggs that he came to Hampton to learn something useful. Mastering the wheelbarrow craft, however, did not further his chances for economic independence after returning to his reservation. The printer's craft, on the other hand, would prove much more lucrative after returning home. Rouillard wrote that "I don't think I work in wheelbarrow shop any more, if there is no room in printing office, I rather go to school on my

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[28]Louis Marago, Sacaton, AZ, February 8, 1888, to Supt. HI, in Indian Affairs, Dept. of the Interior, U.S. Indian Service Correspondence Box, HUA, "Armstrong File," HUA.

work days."[29] The Hampton pupil decided his own fate, and many other natives followed his example. If Hampton's course offerings did not meet their individual needs, they frequently spoke up and requested permission to pursue another vocation. When Hampton instructors failed to address their concerns, students contacted family members and received permission to return to their agencies.

To prepare Indian pupils for a variety of jobs and quiet his critics, Armstrong implemented the "Technical Round" in 1886. The new program was tailored to meet the needs of native students who lacked prior academic training or those who wanted to try their hand at a number of possible trades. The Technical Round introduced Indians to general training in various trades and provided the opportunity for specialized training in the field of their own choosing. Students participated in a six month rotation, spending two months mastering one trade before progressing to another. Indian students typically rotated among carpentry, blacksmithing, and wheelwrighting.[30]

Hampton officials had learned that it made no sense to prepare Indian pupils for skilled trades they might have no use for upon returning home. The Technical Round, remarked

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[29]Thomas Rouillard to Mr. F.C. Briggs, Normal School, December 31, 1894, in SF, HUA.

[30]Ten Years' Work, 25-26; RCIA (1889), House Executive Document no. 1, 51st Cong., 1st sess., serial 2725, 370-71; F.W. Colcord, "The Technical Class," RCIA (1886), serial 2467, 29.

one school employee, sought "to meet the needs of the reservations, where people are far removed from the centers of civilization, and are at the mercy of such mechanics as may come to them, or are deprived entirely of the conveniences which they alone can create."[31] Armstrong now recognized that it was better to provide a student with a general technical training in the rudiments of several trades, "so that he will be wanted as a handy, dexterous fellow, ready to work and quick to learn whatever trade is started at his home."[32]

Student craftsmen also had an opportunity to test their skills while at Hampton. Carpentry students, for example, built the King's Chapel, Indian cottages, and other campus buildings. They frequently repaired existing structures and also made furniture to be used at the school.[33] A few select pupils even worked at their trades in nearby Newport News, Virginia. During the 1918 academic year Eli Bird and Henry Owl, Eastern Band Cherokees, spent the year working for the local shipyard.[34]

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[31]Peabody, Education for Life, 246; Ten Years' Work, 25.

[32]Ten Years' Work, 25.

[33]Ten Years' Work, 27-28; SCA, "Annual Report," (1886), SW 15 (June 1886), 65-66.

[34]Hampton Student, June 15, 1918; ibid., August 15, 1918, clippings in Henry Owl's SF, HUA.

After completing the three-year stay at Hampton, student craftsmen received an added bonus in the form of financial assistance. To help returning craftsmen outfit themselves with the equipment for work in their chosen fields, Hampton's business manager retained half of all the students' earnings in a "tool fund." Indians earned money by working in the trade shops, laboring on the school farm, or spending their summers working on New England farms. After leaving Hampton, students received the money they had accumulated.[35]

Following Armstrong's death in May 1893, school officials placed greater emphasis on Hampton's vocational offerings. In addition to training trade school students to teach their craft, instructors sought to make Hampton's industrial work more educational.[36] In 1895 Frissell introduced a three-year course of study that culminated in the receipt of a trade certificate. The following year, the school's Armstrong-Slater Memorial Trade School opened its doors. The new trade school building, a one-story structure

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[35]Muir, "Indian Education at Hampton Institute," 43. Acquiring the money, however, often proved difficult. Students had to demonstrate gainful employment or provide credible testimony that they would not squander the money. A few frustrated alumni bypassed the school and appealed directly to the Bureau of Indian affairs for the money they had earned while attending Hampton.

[36]HBF, Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference (LMC, 1894), 35-36; RCIA (1903), House Document no. 5, 58th Cong., 2d sess., serial 4645, 438; Robinson, "The History of Hampton Institute," 116-117.

built as a quadruple cross with an inner court giving all working rooms outside windows, had 22,000 square feet of work space. Student workers selected from a wide variety of trade offerings. Some of the more popular selections included: foundry, plastering, mechanical drawing, painting, wheelwrighting, woodturning, blacksmithing, bricklaying, carpentry, machine shop, and wood machine room. The $44,000 structure, a lasting monument to Armstrong's educational philosophy, indicated Frissell's desire to combine academic and vocational instruction.[37]

Male pupils now spent one year working all day at a specific trade while taking night school classes. If they survived their first year, Indian students enrolled in Hampton's academic department and worked at their craft approximately two times each week. Frissell commented that "it may be said that the object of school life is not to make carpenters, but to make men. While this is true, the making of a good carpenter goes far toward the making of a good man."[38]

Samuel George (Seneca), one of Hampton's successful craftsmen, agreed with Frissell. He announced that "working

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[37]HBF, "Annual Report," SW 26 (May 1897), 93; SW 25 (December 1896), 231; SW 15 (April 1886), 46; Peabody, Education for Life, 247-48. The building was expanded to two stories in 1912.

[38]RCIA (1902), House Document no. 5, 57th Cong., 2d sess., serial 4458, 476-77; SW 27 (November 1898), 222; Frank K. Rogers, "An All-round Mechanical Training for Indians," SW 30 (August 1901), 459-61.

with the hands is one of the chief ideas of Hampton . . . To have a trained hand as well as a trained heart and head is a great thing for young people." George then informed the reformers at Lake Mohonk that "a great many people have wrong ideas about the New York Indians. They think they need no help because they have civilized surroundings. But they are badly mistaken. I was one of those Indians surrounded by civilization, and I know if I had not come away I should never have learned a trade--not because I was lazy, but because there was no trade that would make me of value to anybody."[39]

Female Industries At Hampton

Armstrong believed that Indian women also needed to learn the dignity of labor. So did some Indian leaders. Sitting Bull, the famous Lakota chief, reportedly told Alice Fletcher:

> Take pity on my women, for they have no future. The young men can be like the white men--till the soil, supply the food and clothing; they will take the work out of the hands of the women, and the women, to whom we have owed everything in the past, will be stripped of all which gave them power and position among the people. Give a future to my women.[40]

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[39]Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference, 1896 (LMC, 1897), 79-80; Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1896 (Washington, 1897), 73.

[40]JER, "The Training of the Indian Girls as the Uplifter of the Home," Journal of the Proceedings and Addresses of the Thirty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the National Education Association (NEA, 1900), 701.

Female students, both Indian and black, received a more general education than their male counterparts did. They practiced the "household arts" through firsthand experience and instruction. Once again, school officials merged work routines and academic instruction to develop character, enlighten the mind, and strengthen industry. Female students spent the first part of the week improving their sewing and crocheting skills and worked in the school laundry every Thursday and Friday. Saturdays involved mending clothes. Only on Sundays did female students have time to enjoy a brief respite, that is, when they were not attending church services, catechism classes, or evening prayers.[41] Josephine Barnaby (Omaha), an 1887 graduate, captured the spirit of Hampton's training for women when she commented that "while there [at Hampton] I learned many useful things, the most important ones were how to wash clothes and iron them, to scrub floors & cut and sew my own dresses, besides took [taking] lessons in cooking."[42]

The 1882 academic year was a time of change for the female Indians. To alleviate overcrowding, school officials

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[41]SW 15 (June 1886), 69; CMF, SCA, RCIA (1880), serial 1959, 183; HWL, "The Girls Half of Hampton Institute," SW 30 (January 1901), 763-70; "Indians at Hampton," 2, 5; RCIA (1883), serial 2191, 170-72; RCIA (1885), House Executive Document no. 1, 49th Cong., 1st sess., serial 2379, 242-44; RCIA (1891), House Executive Document no. 1, 52d Cong., 1st sess., serial 2934, 602-603.

[42]Josephine Barnaby, Omaha Agency, NB, July 30, 1890, to General T.J. Morgan, in CMF, "Names File," HUA.

raised money to build the Winona Lodge to house up to sixty students.[43] The modern dormitory had its own sewing room, chapel, laundry room, and modern bath facilities. The dormitory's Indian residents made, washed, ironed, and frequently selected material for their dresses.[44] Students were also responsible for the building's care. Annie Lyman recalled that "we scrub our rooms and everything in the building--have our rooms looking as nice as the hall. We wash the windows, the halls and sweep the verander, and we try to keep them clean."[45]

In 1898 Hampton administrators opened a Domestic Science department to "train those, who, by precept and example, shall instruct others in the proper care of the home."[46] The new course of study attempted "to dignify these industries in the eyes of the young women and give them a greater respect for home life." School employees devoted their energies to training "teachers of sewing, cooking, and laundering." For many women, Indian and black alike, these were the only viable career options available

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[43]CMF, unpub. mss, 81, HUA; HWL, Ten Years' Work, 32.

[44]Elaine Goodale Eastman, Pratt: The Red Man's Moses (Norman, 1935), 67; Hultgren and Molin, To Lead and to Serve, 19.

[45]CMF, unpub. mss., 87; HUA; Townsend, in JER, "Indian Department," 1900 Report, p. 3-4, Indian Affairs, Student Information Box, HUA; "Students: Tribes Represented at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923" File, HUA.

[46]SW 27 (November 1898), 223.

to them.[47] Frissell commented that the "work of washing and mending clothes has been lifted out of stupid drudgery into a valuable educational process. The laundry work not only enables the girls to gain regular habits of labor, to earn their board and clothing while they are in school, and be able to make an honest living wherever they go, but it is also distinctly education."[48]

To help make the transition to home as easy as possible for female scholars, Hampton instructors eventually conducted their classes in an atmosphere Indian girls could expect to find upon returning home. By 1892, a model homemaking cottage was built for the use of female Indian students. Until that time, the young women perfected their culinary skills using modern appliances. Some faculty members called into question the practicality of such instruction. They recognized that most of the female students returned to remote locations that did not have access to such equipment. As a result, the homemaking cottage was outfitted with only those utensils and furnishing students could expect to find in frontier communities and instructors emphasized the practical aspects

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[47]The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute and its Work for Negro and Indian Youth (Boston, 1899), 8; RCIA (1897), House Document no. 5, 55th Cong., 2d sess., serial 3641, 384.

[48]HBF, The Work and Influence of Hampton (New York, 1904), 18; RCIA (1903), serial 4645, 439; Ten Years' Work, 26, 29, 39.

of managing a household (building a fire, preparing a table, serving and clearing away a meal, and washing dishes)."[49]

Hampton officials also wanted to ensure that female students would be able to adapt to a host of possible problems they might face after leaving the school for their own communities. As a result, young women also learned basic agricultural and manual trades. Beginning in 1887, each student was given a small plot of land and instructed in tending a garden. Indian and black students raised crops together, each offering advice and assistance to one another. The fruits of their labor, produce and flowers, were then sold to Hampton's neighbors. Given the fact that the Dawes Severalty Act became law that same year, it is likely that school officials hoped Indian women would assist their husbands in operating the small individual allotments.[50]

To help female students survive on their own, instructors introduced the Technical Round for women in 1886. The biweekly gatherings familiarized female pupils with the basics of carpentry and proper use of everyday tools. Student participants mastered the technique of

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[49]Peabody, Education for Life, 365; Richards, "The Training of Indian Girls," 702-703; "The Cottage Cooking Class," SW 19 (December 1890), 126; "Cooking at Hampton," SW 27 (June 1898), 116-117; RCIA (1891), serial 2934, 603.

[50]Ten Years' Work, 26, 29, 39; HBF, The Work and Influence of Hampton, 18; To Lead and to Serve, 28-29; SW 19 (May 1890), 51; Emma M. Souch, "Gardening for Girls at Hampton Institute," SW 36 (1907), 661-64.

framing windows and, in time, learned to construct a wide array of useful items like boxes, towel racks, tables, or shelves for their own dwellings. Once again, Armstrong had fashioned a curriculum designed to meet the needs of returning students. As a result, the young women who participated in Hampton's Technical Round left the school better prepared to fend for themselves while working in remote locations.[51]

Armstrong had learned early on that household chores provided very little economic opportunity for Indian women. During his 1881 western trip, he was shocked to discover the lack of opportunities available for educated Indian women. "Though they could make their own garments, and do housework, there were no suitable situations for them," he reported. The majority of these returned students lived with their parents or married uneducated men. Armstrong recognized that something had to be done to address the reservation conditions for Indian women. He ultimately decided to prepare female scholars for teaching careers, the only career open "for a womanly ambition." Not surprisingly, seventy-four female Indians (fourteen percent)

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[51]Ten Years' Work, 26; "Anniversary," T&T 16 (June 1887), 2; Lucy Conger, "The Girls' Technical Work," T&T (February 1896), SF, HUA; "Gumption Class for Girls," SW 37 (May 1908), 312; SW 22 (March 1893), 44; SW 20 (December 1891), 258; SW 20 (April 1891), 174; RCIA (1892), House Executive Document no. 1, 52d Cong., 2d sess., serial 3088, 696-97; RCIA (1890), serial 2841, 317; RCIA (1891), serial 2934, 603.

graduated from Hampton, a much larger percentage than their male counterparts.[52]

Unlike other contemporary off-reservation boarding schools, Hampton's faculty expressed a genuine interest in American Indian life and culture.[53] Hampton pioneered a native arts and crafts program in order to interest Indian pupils in traditional art forms. Moreover, Armstrong perceptively recognized that basketry, pottery, and other art mediums could help returning pupils, especially women, fend for themselves.

Armstrong recognized the value of native arts soon after the Fort Marion prisoners arrived at Hampton in 1878. The school's first Indian students brought their artistic talents with them. Their paintings, frequently depicting the buffalo hunt where spirited horses and befeathered hunters completed a successful kill, served as "reminders of the needs of a noble but wronged people." It did not take Armstrong long to realize that souvenir-hungry visitors paid top dollar for the natives' sketches. As a result, Hampton

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[52]SCA, "The Indian Question," (Hampton, 1883), 17-18. Only 85 male Indians graduated from Hampton (9 percent). Male students often came to learn trades or agriculture; once they mastered their craft they left Hampton. These students could find jobs without a diploma. Female scholars, however, had to graduate if they hoped to work in government schools or secure a position in the Indian Service. See Appendix H for a complete list of Hampton's Indian graduates.

[53]"Walt Whitman Concerning Indians," SW 16 (December 1884), 127, To Lead and to Serve, 46-47.

officials encouraged and promoted the Indians' artistic skills. Students also produced a wide range of craft items for sale to the public, including folding tables, chairs, and checkerboards.[54]

Arizona Swayney (Eastern Band Cherokee), a 1899 Hampton graduate, interrupted her post-graduate studies to return to her reservation during the summer of 1902 where she studied basketry and pottery. Swayney later instructed other Indians at Hampton in the traditional art forms she had learned from tribal elders.[55] Swayney hinted at another motive for instructing native pupils in traditional crafts. "Even though one did not mean to make a business of this work it would encourage the old people to have the returned students show an interest in the native industries, and it would help them to keep up these arts to have more pride in them, to do them better and with more care." She reported that "in teaching basketry here I find the girls are very fond of it and they do excellent work. . . It seems high time for some of the younger people to try and do something

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[54]SCA, "Annual Report," SW 7 (May 1878), 41, 44; "The Indian Art Class," SW 13 (December 1884), 128; Sarah Eden Smith, "A Summer Experiment: Art Among the Indians," Boston Evening Transcript June 2, 1884; June 13, 1884, 1-3, clippings located in "Indian Students at Hampton Box, HUA; George Hamlin, "Art Teaching at Hampton," SW 22 (March 1903), clipping in SF, HUA; Jesse Lambert, "Some Native Industries," T&T (March 1896), in SF, HUA.

[55]"Basket Making," T&T (June 1902) and Indian Friend (August 1902), in Zona Swayney's SF, HUA; SW 31 (March 1902), 164-65; RCIA (1902), serial 4458, 475.

toward preserving these arts on the different reservations."[56]

Lace-making became one of the most popular of the "native industries" at Hampton. Carlotta Gutierrez (Navajo) noted that "lace is taught just to the Indian girls for some have found the lace work very useful to them. They can make lace and sell it, or they can teach it to others."[57] One student, Josephine Hill Webster, later introduced lacemaking to Oneida women. The craft became a major source of employment for the women and an important source of funds for Indian families.[58]

Skilled graduates used their artistic talents in a variety of ways. A few gifted artists taught Indian children. Angel DeCora, a Smith College graduate and renowned artist, established Carlisle's native crafts program at the urging of Francis Leupp, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Elizabeth Cornelius taught pillow-lace making among the Chippewa in Minnesota and later established

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[56]Arizona Swayney, "Basket Making." T&T (June 1902), T&T (May 1905); SW (July 1905), "Teaching Basketry On A Tea Plantation," T&T (November 1906), clippings in Zona Swayney's SF, HUA; "The Benefit of Native Industries," SW 31 (April 1902), 183; RCIA (1905), House Executive Document no. 5, 59th Congress, 1st sess., serial 4959, 439-40.

[57]Carlotta Gutierrez, to "Dear Friends," February 1904, and to "Dear Friends," January 25, 1906, both letters in SF, HUA.

[58]HBF, "Annual Report," SW 29 (May 1900), 297; Josephine Hill SF, HUA.

the First Daughters of America, an organization designed to help Indian women sell their handicrafts.[59]

Training the Heart at Hampton

Despite Hampton's pioneering agricultural and industrial offerings, Armstrong made Christianity the rock upon which his school was built. He believed that "only the light of Christian truth and example, steadily shining, can lift men up."[60] Instructing native pupils in the vital precepts of the Christian faith, reasoned Armstrong, awakened in them a genuine enthusiasm for "the higher life" and encouraged them to assist others.[61] Hollis Frissell, an ordained minister who became Hampton's second principal in 1893, agreed with Armstrong. "The thought which has prevailed at Hampton," he wrote, "is that of doing missionary work, not merely collecting these students from their homes, but of training them, so that they should go back to their homes, and become centers of light and civilization and Christianity." Both educators advocated

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[59]Eastman, Pratt, 247-248; Angel DeCora, "Native Indian Art," SW 36 (October 1907), 527-28; "Encouraging Indian Art," SW 43 (March 1914), 204-206.

[60]SCA, "The Indian Question," (Hampton, 1883), 10, 22.

[61]Peabody, Education for Life, 120; SCA, "The Indian Question," (1883), 22; Robert Engs, "Black, White, and Red: A Study of Intellectual Inequality," in Region, Race, and Reconstruction, J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson (New York, 1982), 249.

drawing a select number of natives out from the masses and training them in order to help "draw the others up."[62]

Non-denominational instruction at Hampton emphasized the "doing of daily duty."[63] Students attended daily prayer services, two Sunday school sessions, and a campus-wide service each week.[64] One female student, commenting on the religious atmosphere of Hampton, remarked that "when I registered at Hampton, I thought I was well acquainted with the three R's, but I have found that the three R's of importance are Religion, Respect for Rules, and Responsibility."[65]

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[62]HBF, Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference (1893), 100-102. Revisionists have down-played the importance of religious training at Hampton. Donald Spivey contends that the school's heavy dose of religious training was part of Armstrong's plan to control his pupils. See Spivey, Schooling for the New Slavery (Westport, CT, 1978), 27-28. Such views, however, fly in the face of Armstrong's missionary upbringing and belittle his strong humanitarian inclinations. Frissell graduated from Yale in 1874. After a brief teaching stint, he entered the Union Theological Seminary and became an assistant pastor of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York City in 1879.

[63]HBF, "Importance of Religious Work Among Indians," Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian (LMC, 1905), 197-198.

[64]"Hampton--A Contract School," SW 25 (January 1896), 9; Talbot, SCA, 192-93; H.B. Turner, RCIA (1903), serial 4645, 440; Report of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute for the Year Ending June 30, 1883 (Richmond, 1883), 26-27.

[65]Cited in Peabody, Education for Life, 258; SW 11 (February 1882), 5.

A religious aura permeated all aspects of school life. Hampton's Indian students came to the school from agencies under the care of various religious denominations, largely Episcopalian, but some Presbyterian and Roman Catholic. Armstrong wanted to develop the spirituality of the native students and fill them with a sense of mission to their own communities, but he also hoped to avoid forcing one faith upon the diverse student body.[66]

Sunday church services were mandatory. Students gathered in the school's church for a non-denominational service each week. The small chapel, with its hard wooden benches, black pulpit, and turkey red curtains, was located in the nearby National Cemetery (used until completion of the Memorial Chapel in 1886). Students attending Hampton from Episcopalian agencies (nearly fifty percent of Indian pupils) met weekly with the Rev. John J. Gravatt, rector of the nearby St. John's Episcopal Church.[67] Roman Catholic students attended Sunday mass at the nearby Soldier's Home, and natives belonging to other Protestant denominations

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[66]CMF, unpub. mss., 16; HBF, Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference, 1902 (LMC, 1903), 132; Michael Coleman, American Indian at School, 1850-1930 (Jackson, MS, 1993), 115-120.

[67]J.J. Gravatt, "Hampton's Early Indian Days," SW 39 (June 1910), 334; HBF, Thirteenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1881 (Washington, 1882), 64-65; HBF, "Religious Work," in RCIA (1889), 375; SW 7 (November 1887), 113; RCIA (1887), 347-48; RCIA (1896), 410. Gravatt was rector of St. John's from 1867 until 1893. He died in Richmond, Virginia, in 1925.

gathered for ecumenical services in the Winona chapel. Following their devotional exercises, Indians attended Sunday school classes that were also divided along denominational lines.[68] After an afternoon break, the whole student body, black and Indian, assembled for a nondenominational, but thoroughly Christian prayer service that emphasized "the fundamental truths in which all churches can unite."[69]

To promote the Christian spirit of service, Hampton officials encouraged students to participate in charitable organizations. Indian pupils established a chapter of the Christian Endeavor Society at Hampton in October 1891. By 1893 the organization counted twenty-eight members, roughly twenty-one percent of all Indians attending Hampton.[70] Students with no exposure to Christianity were especially encouraged to attend the weekly student-run meetings held

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[68]Ten Years' Work 35; The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute and its Work for Negro and Indian Youth (Boston, 1899), 9; CMF, unpub. mss., 16, 56-57.

[69]HBF, RCIA (1894), serial 3306, 418-19; RCIA (1896), serial 3489, 410; RCIA (1903), serial 4645, 440; RCIA (1891), serial 2934, 604; JER., "The Indian Sunday School," SW 12 (April 1883), 43; Caroline K. Knowles, "Social Life at Winona," RCIA (1885), serial 2379, 246. HBF, in Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference, 1902 (LMC, 1903), 132. In 1896, 40 Indians (28 percent) attended services at St. John's.

[70]SW 21 (May 1892), 73; SW 22 (January 1893), 2, 13; James H. Ross, "The Christian Endeavor Society," New England 33 n.s., 39, d.s. (February 1906), 653-666. The society was established by a Congregational minister from Maine in 1881. The organization's goal was to interest young people in philanthropy while also promoting interdenominational unity.

every Sunday morning in the Winona Lodge. "The chief work of the society, noted George Frazier (Santee Sioux), "is to get the students interested in religious matters."[71]

The organization attempted to promote racial, instead of tribal identity, among its members. In addition, the club also inspired religious conversions among Hampton's native pupils. The annual reports of the principal and individual student files attest to the frequency of student conversions, baptisms, and confirmations at Hampton.[72] By 1891, seven out of every eight Indians attending the school were professing Christians. Moreover, "a large number of them have come into the Christian life since coming to this school," noted Frissell.[73] Not every pupil, however,

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[71]George Judson Frazier, "Hampton Indian Y.P.S.C.E.," T&T, clipping in SF, HUA; Alonzo Lee (Cherokee), "The Indian Christian Endeavor Society," T&T (June/July 1896), clipping in SF, HUA; SW 45 (March 1916), 195; W. David Owl (E. Cherokee), Richmond-Times Dispatch, May 6, 1915; Richmond Virginian, May 6, 1915.

[72]RCIA (1887), serial 2542, 347-48; RCIA (1889), serial 2725, 376-77; RCIA (1894), House Executive Document no. 1, 53d Cong., 3d sess., serial 3306, 418-19; Frances W. Hayes, Jr., comp., Elizabeth City Parish Registers (Bowie, MD, 1986), Ten Years Work, 35; "Admitted to the Church," SW 10 (February 1881), 19; SW 18 (May 1889), 58; Elizabeth City Parish, Elizabeth City County, VA (St. John's named in 1827). Accession #: 25594--Vestry Book, 1751-1784, 1806-1883; Accession #: 20792--Register, 1824-1889, State Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA. Nineteenth century parish registers of St. John's Episcopal Church indicate that there were 48 Indian Baptisms, 3 Indian marriages, 141 confirmations, and a total of 190 communicants.

[73]RCIA (1891), serial 2934, 605; "Hampton Notes," Y.M.C.A. Bulletin (February 1922), in William Tyndal's SF, HUA.

appreciated the Christian zeal of Hampton's instructors. Cassimer Fir Elk, a Standing Rock Sioux, refused to embrace Hampton's brand of religion. The former shaman caused so much dissension "attempting to practice his art" upon Indian students that teachers voted to expel him.[74]

Students were often responsible for converting other Indians to Christianity. Karunach (Arikara) arrived at Hampton "directly from a wild life." After three years he returned to Fort Berthold, but found it difficult "to stand among his savage comrades" and returned to Hampton for additional training. Writing to his friends back home, Karunach reported that "we have just commenced praying to God. We did not know anything about it until one Pawnee [James Murie] came. He helps us to pray . . . We often pray to God to help us how to learn in his book, and take us to his road to be good."[75]

Indians who embraced Christianity while attending Hampton risked alienation and rejection upon returning home. Shortly before departing for Hampton, Thomas Wildcat Alford and John King were counseled by Absentee-Shawnee elders not to abandon their traditional beliefs while away at school. For Alford, the decision to convert to Christianity proved

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[74]Cassimer Fire Elk, SF, HUA.

[75]"Revival Work Among the Indians at Hampton," 77-78, in Charles L. Hall Papers, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Records, State Historical Society of North Dakota, Bismarck, ND.

especially difficult. His clan, the Peckuwe, had the responsibility for tribal religious matters. Despite the warning, Alford accepted the Christian faith while at Hampton. He later wrote that "under the continual pressure and interest of my friends and teachers, this question of religion became a paramount issue in my mind." In time, he heeded "the insistent calling that was ever calling in my heart, calling me to the feet of Jesus." But the decision to convert to Christianity carried with it a heavy price. By defying the advice of tribal elders, Alford knew he would be ostracized after leaving Hampton: "I knew that my hope of earthly glory was over . . . I could work for my people, I might even teach them the truths about Christianity, but they never would accord me the honor and respect they gave to their chief."[76]

In some cases, students lacking English skills received permission to establish their own religious organizations. Two pupils, Moses Icato (Cheyenne River Sioux) and Baptiste Lambert (Yankton Sioux) organized a weekly prayer group called the Sioux Boys Christian Association at Hampton. Until 1887, Armstrong permitted student members to speak in their native tongue during their meetings. Lambert later told Armstrong to "please excuse us for using our own

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[76]Thomas Wildcat Alford, Civilization and the Story of the Absentee Shawnees (Norman, 1936; reprint, 1976), 44-45; 104-107; Coleman, American Indians at School, 117-118.

language only in our prayer meetings, so we can pray to our Heavenly Father what we wish to say in our prayers."[77]

The Hampton's Young Men's Christian Association was responsible for the religious, charitable, and social work of the school. The club also hoped to instruct Indian and black Hamptonians in the rudiments of Christianity while promoting "the work of loving service."[78] Baptiste Lambert reported that "we select several boys every Sunday who take food to some of the poor people around, and read, sing, pray, and rejoice for them, and with them." Students also gathered donations to purchase food, clothing, and other necessities for the poor. John Bruyier noted that "the colored people are always ready to receive them and always say that they want to hear the word of God. So the boys are learning to do good to others. Some have gone home and those are the ones who are able to stand before their people and teach them and are doing good work."[79] For the Indian

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[77]Baptiste Lambert, "May We Pray in Indian," SW 17 (November 1887), SF, HUA. Moses Icato, "Alphabetical Lists of Indian Boys," HUA, 79; Baptiste Lambert, "Alphabetical Lists of Indian Boys," HUA, 100-101; SW 18 (February 1889), 22. A similar organization, the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, was started by boys from Anglican agencies. RCIA (1896), House Executive Document no. 5, 54 Cong., 2d sess., serial 3489, 410.

[78]SW 23 (February 1894), 26; John Bruyier, "Our Young Men's Christian Association," T&T (November 1889), in SF, HUA; Baptiste Lambert, "Indian Christian Association," T&T (March 1889), in SF, HUA.

[79]John Bruyier, "Our Young Men's Christian Association," in SF, HUA.

participants such activities were nothing new. Many native peoples educated children to assist the less fortunate members of the tribe. Indian children also learned to respect the elderly and to share what they had with others.

Indian women also organized service organizations. Hampton became the first boarding school for Indians to establish a chapter of the King's Daughters, a non-sectarian Christian social and religious organization. The King's Daughters, like the other charitable clubs at Hampton, promoted the idea of serving others. Student members organized "circles" to produce handmade items for charity.[80] Student members also donated money and held fundraising events. In 1891, female students arranged a lawn party to raise money for a new hospital to be constructed at Crow Creek Agency.[81]

The King's Daughters developed in its members a spirit of Christian industry. The manufacture of handicrafts donated for charitable purposes also enhanced the students' sense of service to others. Hampton faculty repeatedly called this devotion to the welfare of others the "Hampton Spirit." Merial Dorchester, the wife of the Superintendent of Indian Schools, praised the society during an inspection

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[80] SW 20 (December 1891), 258; SW 22 (January 1893), 12; Cornelia Cornelius (Oneida), "Dear Mrs. Mackle," January 24, 1898, in SF, HUA. During the 1891-92 academic year students organized 25 circles (4 for Indians and 21 for blacks).

[81] SW 20 (May 1891), 187.

visit to Hampton. She was so taken with the idea that eventually all government boarding schools were told to organize chapters of the King's Daughters.[82]

Eventually one Indian-only organization, the Lend-a-Hand Club eventually overshadowed all of the others. The club was organized by Winona's female residents in January 1885. Every member pledged to find ways to lend a helping hand to others. Students donated funds to help offset the tuition of black children attending the Butler School and assisted members of the community by teaching Sunday School, visiting prisoners, and helping the school's indigent black neighbors.[83]

Although established by female pupils, the Lend-A-Hand Club quickly became a coeducational organization that eventually controlled all of the social, religious, and athletic work of the Indian Department. Student members

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[82] Mary Jane White Crow in SW 20 (March 1891), 175; Merial A. Dorchester, "How the King's Daughters Can Help the Indians," SW 20 (August 1891), 221; Robert A. Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls at Nonreservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920," Western Historical Quarterly 13 (July 1882), 284; "Report of Special Agent, Indian School Service, Oct. 1892," in RCIA (1892), serial 3088, 600-609; Ruth Shaffner, "Civilizing the American Indian," Chautauquan 23 (June 1896), 265-66. The altruistic society was started by Margaret Bottome of New York in 1886 and quickly became international in scope.

[83] Annie Lyman (Sioux), "The 'Lend A Hand' Club,'" SW 14 (April 1885), 44; Marian Skenandore (Oneida), to "Dear Friend," January 25, 1898, letter in SF, HUA; RCIA (1888), House Executive Document no. 1, 50th Cong., 2d sess., serial 2637, 281; RCIA (1889), serial 2725, 375-76; RCIA (1890), serial 2841, 320; RCIA (1891), serial 2934, 604.

elected officers and captains who directed much of the society's charitable activities. The purpose of the organization was "to assist in every way possible to provide amusement, entertainment, help to students here and to those who have returned to their homes."[84] Members fashioned toy bows and arrows, sewed clothes and other items, and collected books, Bibles, and donations to be sent annually at Christmas to the school's Indian alumni who were teaching in government and mission schools. In the opinion of one Hampton instructor, the work "kindles a zealous charity in the hearts of the workers."[85]

The Lend-a-Hand Club also produced Talks and Thoughts, a student monthly published by Hampton's Indian students. The journal began publication in 1885 when members of the Indian Boy's Debating Society came up with the idea of launching an Indian-only magazine. Eventually the magazine passed into the hands of the Lend-a-Hand Club. Four student editors selected material for the journal. Student submissions approved by the editors also had to be cleared by a faculty member. The journal promoted the "Hampton

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[84]"Incidents of Indian Life," SW 18 (January 1889), 10.

[85]Angel DeCora, "What the Lend A Hand Club is Doing," T&T (December 1889), in SF, HUA; Anna Lovejoy (Sioux), "Lend A Hand Club," T&T (December 1891), SF, HUA; "Lend-a-Hand Club," SW 15 (December 1886), 128; SW 17 (May 1888), 58; SW 22 (January 1893), 13; "Indians 'Lend-a-Hand' Club," SW 23 (December 1894), 207; SW 18 (November 1889), 115.

Spirit" and also proved to be an important vehicle for maintaining contact with the school's returned Indians.[86]

Hampton officials designed the school's charitable organizations to cultivate their version of the gospel of work and service.[87] The clubs encouraged Indian pupils to serve those in need, thereby preparing them to assist the poorest members of their own tribes after leaving Hampton. Returned students frequently established similar organizations in their own communities to support a wide array of charitable and religious causes. The various service organizations also taught native students to set aside their tribal jealousies and work together. In 1895 the Indian pupils formed an Indian Societies Union to help promote greater cooperation among the various service groups at the school. The Indian Societies Union reflected the growing Pan-Indian activity taking place at the school.[88]

In 1897, Hollis Frissell explained why Hampton, unlike many other off-reservation boarding schools, insisted on

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[86]SW 18 (November 1889), 115; SW 18 (January 1889), 12; SW 24 (December 1895), 204; T&T 10 (April 1895), 5. A male only organization, the Self-Control Alliance, was established in 1894 to honor the memory of Samuel Chapman Armstrong who died in 1893. Student members, frequently unruly Indian boys, pledged to follow the self control exercised by Armstrong during his fatal illness. Members pledged "to learn self-control in everything and gain manly purpose for our future lives and with God's help to work for our companions." T&T 12 (December 1897), 2.

[87]"Hampton Trains for Service," SW 43 (August 1914), 428; RCIA (1886), serial 2467, 31.

[88]SW 24 (December 1895), 204.

religious formation of its student body. "Hampton has always had the missionary idea," he noted. Hampton was established "with the idea that the young people should go out not merely to live for themselves, but that they should be leaders of their race."[89] Some graduates agreed with Frissell. In their responses to Hampton's annual letters, students often reflected on their Hampton training. Returned Indians repeatedly mentioned the impact that religious instruction had on them. David Hill (Onondaga) recalled fondly "the spirit of religious training, the spirit of thought and usefulness from one's self as well as for others, [and] loyalty to the spirit of purpose to industry."[90] Another student, Arthur Harris (Mohave-Apache), did likewise. He reported that "Hampton has given me a new respect and love for my people."[91] "The combination of spiritual and industrial training," noted Alva Pierce (Onondaga), "prepares a man and woman to meet anything that comes their way."[92]

Not every native pupil enjoyed Hampton's Christian training. Albert Marshall came to Hampton in July 1885 from

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[89]HBF, Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference, 1896 (LMC, 1897), 78-79.

[90]David R. Hill, Onondaga Castle, NY, January 3, 1907, to the Y.P.S.C.E., HI, in SF, HUA.

[91]Arthur Harris, "Campaign of 1916", SF, HUA.

[92]Alva Pierce, "Dear Friend," November 13, 1908, SF, HUA.

the Lincoln Institute. Because he attended Anglican services while in Philadelphia, Hampton officials placed him on the Episcopalian list. School authorities allowed Albert to skip church services during his first few weeks at Hampton due to the oppressive summer heat. Albert, however, stopped attending church services completely. When confronted about his wayward behavior, he claimed to be Roman Catholic and requested permission to attend the Catholic Sunday School at Hampton. School officials decided to verify Albert's religious affiliation, but directed him to attend St. John's until the matter was resolved.[93]

Marshall then took matters into his own hands. He contacted friends to complain about his treatment. His continued criticism ultimately prompted the Rev. Thomas Childs' 1887 investigation of the school.[94] Stung by the Marshall incident, Hampton officials defended their decision and informed Childs that pupils who transferred from other Protestant schools were required to attend church services "similar to those they have left." Moreover, Roman Catholic students were informed that "they are required to attend all

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[93]Curtis to Childs, December 3, 1887, Childs Report Box, HUA; "Indian Faculty Minutes," May 12, 1886, HUA; Albert Marshall, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA.

[94]SW 18 (July 1889), 77, 80; SW 18 (August 1889), 85; SW 18 (September 1889), 93, 96; Twentieth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1888 (Washington, D.C., 1889), 11-14; T&T 4 (July 1889), 2.

our regular school services which are Protestant, and that they will be permitted to attend Roman Catholic services."[95]

Just when it appeared that Hampton's educational program for Indian scholars had firmly established itself, the school's religious atmosphere threatened to end its annual government appropriation. In 1890, an organization called the National League for the Protection of American Institutions led the charge to curtail funding for contract schools, especially those affiliated with religious organizations. Critics of sectarian schools argued that such funding violated the principle of the separation of church and state. Evangelical Protestants also wanted to stop funding Roman Catholic mission schools with public monies.[96] That same year, Congress voted to revoke public funding for boarding schools operated by various denominations.[97]

The threat became an all-too familiar pattern during the remainder of the decade. Although Hampton was a

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[95]George L. Curtis, Commandant, HI, December 3, 1887, to Rev. Childs, Wash. D.C., Childs Report Box, HUA.

[96]SW 19 (August 1890), 89; Francis Paul Prucha, The Churches and the Indian School, 1888-1912 (Lincoln, 1979), 1-9, 26-40; Burton M. Smith, "Anti-Catholicism, Indian Education and Thomas Jefferson Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs," Canadian Journal of History 23 (1988), 213-33; David Wallace Adams, Education for Extinction (Lawrence, KS, 1995), 66. Adams noted that Catholic schools received $347,672 out of a total $530,905 appropriated for contract schools in 1889.

[97]RCIA (1890), serial 2841, 68; Lindsey, Indians at Hampton, 67-70.

non-denominational boarding school, it was classified as a mission school. Government officials visited Hampton to determine the value of continuing the school's Indian experiment. William Hailmann, the Superintendent of Indian Schools, reported that "the distinctive feature of this school is its broad missionary spirit. Bound to no particular denomination, yet respecting all and respected by all, it is deeply religious in spirit and work, and labors to inculcate its own missionary zeal in the hearts of its students."[98]

In 1894 a provision was added to the annual Indian Appropriations Bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to "inquire into and investigate the propriety of discontinuing contract schools."[99] Once again, a congressional delegation inspected Hampton to determine whether to terminate the school's annual government appropriation. James Mendenhall, a clerk for the House Committee on Indian Affairs, informed Frissell that "all were impressed with the fine discipline of the school, and

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[98]William N. Hailmann, Education of the Indian, Monographs in Education in the United States, no. 19 (St. Louis, MO: Division of Exhibits, Department of Education, Universal Exposition, 1904), 958.

[99]RCIA (1894), serial 3306, 18; HBF, "Indians at Hampton," 13, HUA. Political concerns also entered into the attempts to cut Hampton's government funding. The school received a great deal of Republican support. Not surprisingly, Hampton officials had to defend their school following the elections of Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson, the era's only Democratic presidents.

the thoroughly practical education given the students based on the formation of moral and religious character, which alone can give assurance of a steady application and an adherence to a correct course of moral conduct and industry through life . . . Any education of the head without the heart, is practically worthless and like building upon the sand."[100]

In 1895 Hampton's funding was temporarily halted, but intense lobbying by Frissell and Hampton's powerful allies restored the government appropriation for Hampton and Lincoln Institute. Frissell convinced a congressional committee that Hampton was "earnestly Christian" but decidedly non-sectarian. Moreover, Jews, Protestants, and Roman Catholics were represented on the school's Board of Trustees and faculty.[101] The following year, however, federal funding for contract schools became a thing of the past. Members of Congress had voted "to hereafter make no appropriation whatever for education in any sectarian

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[100]James E. Mendenhall, Clerk, Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., December 19, 1894, to HBF, HI, Indian Affairs: House of Reps, U.S. Senate Correspondence Box, "House of Representatives File," HUA.

[101]HBF, "Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Principal," SW 25 (June 1896), 115-116; SW 25 (September 1896), 171; SW 24 (January 1895), 12; Senator James Kyle (SD), "A Chance for the Educated Indian," SW 24 (January 1895), 16; SW 24 (April 1895), 53-54; SW 25 (January 1896), 9; SW 25 (May 1896), 88; Lindsey, Indians at Hampton, 234-35.

school."[102] Luckily for Hampton, the school escaped unscathed because of its non-denominational status.

Despite surviving previous budget cuts, Hampton was never far from losing its government funding. Its religious atmosphere made the school a target again at the turn of the century. When the Indian Office dropped Hampton from its funding list in 1900, Frissell determined to prove that his school was non-sectarian. He also argued that reservation schools could not offer the extensive vocational training available at Hampton. The progress of the school's American Indian alumni bolstered Frissell's arguments and members of Congress voted to continue Hampton's annual appropriation.[103]

The religious spirit of the school became the driving force behind its gospel of work and service. Students learned how to incorporate Christian principles into their daily lives. Armstrong and his successors also believed in the educational value of academic studies supplemented with a diverse regimen of industrial training. Hampton's founder designed a course of study that shaped students' character. Besides learning valuable skills, Indian and black pupils

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[102]RCIA, 1896, serial 3489, 14-15; "Indians at Hampton," 13, HUA.

[103]JER, "Indian Education: Does It Pay?," SW 29 (February 1900), 81-90; SW 29 (June 1900), 3-5; SW 29 (March 1900), 176-77; Indian Appropriations Bill, 56th Cong., 1st sess., Senate Document 227, p. 1, 4-6; Reports of Hearings before the Subcommittee and Committee on Indian Affairs of the U.S. Senate in consideration of H.R. 7433 (Indian Appropriation Bill).

developed initiative, inventiveness, originality, and versatility. Many of Hampton's well-trained Indian alumni returned home to teach others their skills or secured positions in the United States Indian Service. Others rejected what they had learned and embraced tribal values following their departure. In either event, the native pupils largely decided their own fate.

Chapter V

"Instilling the Habits of Neatness, Industry, Thrift, & Self-Reliance": The Rhetoric of Hampton's Outing Program

Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Richard Henry Pratt reinforced Hampton Institute's academic, religious, and vocational curriculum through a summer work-study program. The outing system, first implemented at Hampton during the summer of 1878, was the logical culmination of both individuals' assimilationist aims. The innovative work-study program also benefitted Hampton financially. Indians laboring in New England during their semester break would not have to be clothed, fed, or monitored by the school. Native apprentices also helped publicize Hampton Institute's experiment in Indian education. They attracted the attention, and more important, the financial resources of a wide array of northern reform organizations and philanthropists. Contributions earmarked for Indians at Hampton ultimately played an important role in the growth and financial stability of the historically black institution.

The outing program grew out of Armstrong and Pratt's belief that Indian students should mingle, compete, and live

with whites.[1] Both educators hoped that such training would hasten the disappearance of reservations. Pratt argued that "the solution of the Indian problem hinges upon the destruction of the present system and in the devising of means that will disintegrate the tribes and bring them into association with the best of our civilization."[2] In Armstrong's view, reservations were "merely places for herding Indians; temporary necessary expedients, that, after a given time, may become growing evils." Hampton's founder especially detested the racial isolation engendered by the reservation system. Armstrong declared that "Treating the Indian as an Indian and not as a person is as false as slavery; it has created a separation, by way of the reservation system, that is worse for the red man than

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[1]Donal Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1823 (Urbana, 1995), 37; David Wallace Adams provides a brief overview of the outing system pioneered at Hampton in Education for Extinction (Lawrence, KS, 1995), 156-63. Lindsey believes that the outing system at Hampton attempted to prevent Indians from being too closely associated in the public mind with blacks at the school. But he fails to recognize that some Indians spent their summers working for black families. Nor does he appreciate that some native pupils wanted to participate in Hampton's outing program.

[2]RHP, "The Outing System at Carlisle," paper read at the Ninth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference, October 8, 1891, in RCIA (1891), House Executive Document no. 1, part 5, 52d Cong., 1st sess., serial 2934, 596; RHP, "A Way Out," cited in Francis Paul Prucha, ed., Americanizing the American Indian (Lincoln, 1978), 275; Robert L. Brunhouse, "Apprenticeship for Civilization: The Outing System at Carlisle Indian School," Educational Outlook 13 (May 1939),30; Robert A. Trennert, "From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930," Pacific Historical Review 52 (August 1983), 269-72.

slavery was for the black man." Rather than perpetuate racial separation, Hampton's faculty encouraged native pupils to participate in summer outings to help them acquire the skills necessary to compete with their "civilized" neighbors.[3]

Hampton's pioneering outing system became a crucial component of its assimilationist curriculum. School officials believed that the work experience would convince the more advanced Indian scholars to adopt the cultural traits and practices of Euro-American society. "I believe," wrote Armstrong, "they [Indians] need, first of all, the home with its wholesome activities--then the school and the church."[4] Hiram Price, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, agreed. "Removed from the rules and restraints which make up the machinery of a large institution," he noted, Indians were "thrown upon their own resources and responsibility, and learn the self-imposed restraints and amenities and tasks which characterize home life."[5] The skills, habits, language, and religion of whites, reformers reasoned, could best be mastered outside the classroom.

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[3]SCA, "The Indian Question," (Hampton, 1883), 4, 12-13; SCA, "The Indian Question," SW 11 (December 1882), 125; SCA, October 6, 1886, to Mr. Smiley, in Eighteenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners (1886) (Washington, D.C., 1887), 70, HUA.

[4]SCA, Annual Report of the Principal, (1890), 18-19, HUA.

[5]Hiram Price, RCIA (1882), House Executive Document no. 1, 47th Cong., 1st sess., serial 2100, xxxvi.

Besides furthering the acculturation of Hampton's Indian students, summer outings were also designed to reduce the prejudice and bigotry separating Indians and whites.[6] Pratt declared that

> The outing system breaks down their [the Indians'] old prejudices against the whites, superstition, and savagery, because, not being surrounded by them, all such qualities that may have grown up within them in their tribes fall into 'innocuous desuetude.' No plan that I know of ends the prejudice of the white race more rapidly and thoroughly. The whites learn that Indians can become useful men and that they have the same qualities as other men. Seeing their industry, their skill and good conduct, they come to respect them.[7]

If successful, the summer experience would forever change the attitudes of both participants. A disastrous outing experience, however, could, and often did, reinforce the racial prejudices of both parties.[8]

The outing program also augmented the agricultural lessons so faithfully preached at Hampton. "Farming, as the chief occupation of our Negro and Indian populations," declared Armstrong, "should have first attention in this

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[6]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, Ed. Robert M. Utley (New Haven, 1964; reprint, Lincoln, NB, 1987), 193-95.

[7]RHP, "The Outing System at Carlisle," serial 2934, 596; RHP, "A Way Out," cited in Prucha, ed., Americanizing the American Indians, 274.

[8]Annie Beecher Scoville, "Indian Outings," SW 24 (September 1895), 157; Deidre Ann Almeida, "The Role of Western Massachusetts in the Development of Indian Education Reform," (Ed.D. Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1992), 58-74.

school."[9] As a result, Hampton's outing system literally began in its own backyard when Armstrong relegated fifteen Fort Marion Indians to the Shellbanks Farm during the summer of 1878. The experiment was, according to Armstrong, "the first step in the civilization of the wild tribes."[10]

Shortly after the students' arrival at the farm, James Robbins, a black Hampton graduate who managed Shellbanks, divided the fifteen Indians into two work details. One group of students toiled in the fields each morning and the second squad worked on the farm in the afternoon. George Starkweather, the manager of the Indian workshop at Hampton, observed that "the plan works well and is liked by the boys, who enjoy the farm very much. They cook their own provisions (their favorite way is to boil it), wait upon themselves, and sleep in a tent."[11]

Life at the school-run farm involved more than farm chores. Hampton officials recognized that too much work in the Tidewater's heat and humidity might prove fatal for the Indians. Rather than work the students to death, James

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[9]SCA, Annual Report of the Principal, (1892), 11, HUA.

[10]SCA, "Annual Report," SW 8 (June 1879), 64; SCA, Annual Report of the Principal (1878), 5, HUA; SW 8 (July 1879), 74; Edwin A. Start, "General Armstrong and the Hampton Institute," New England Magazine 12 (June 1892), 456; RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 214.

[11]CMF, "Indian Days at Hampton," 29-30, unpublished manuscript, HUA; SW 8 (July 1879), 74; G.B. Starkweather, "Incidents of Indian Life at Hampton," SW 8 (August 1879), 85.

Robbins encouraged his Indian charges to take frequent breaks. Participants spent their free time fishing for crabs and oysters, hunting wild game, rowing, swimming in the Back River, or playing croquet, one of their favorite contests. Robbins remarked that "life at Shellbanks was for the most part a long holiday."[12]

Rudimentary academic studies were another part of the Shellbanks outing. Indian students participated in nightly one-hour study periods during the summer. Robbins recalled that "many word games are played in order to teach them how to speak and spell with accuracy."[13] Besides their nightly classes, students also gathered to unwind and reminisce. Evenings became a time of camaraderie and reflection. During the informal meetings, native students performed tribal dances, reenacted famous battles, recounted their adventures before heading east for formal training, and discussed their plans for the future.[14] Michael Oshkeneny (Menominee), a student who spent a summer at Shellbanks,

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[12]J.C.R. [James Robbins], "Incidents of Indian Life at Hampton," SW 8 (November 1879), 111.

[13]James C. Robbins, "Vacation at Hampton," SW 7 (October 1878), 78; SW 7 (July 1878), 50.

[14]CMF, "Indian Days at Hampton," 30; Robbins, "Vacation at Hampton," 78-79; Robbins, "Incidents of Indian Life at Hampton," SW 8 (October 1879), 101.

recalled that "in the evening after work we used to play and sing just as much as we want[ed] to."[15]

The summer of 1878 was a positive experience for everyone involved. Cora Mae Folsom, a long-tenured instructor at Hampton, commented that all those who participated in the Shellbanks outing returned to the school in better health and had learned a great deal about farm life during their stay. Summers spent working on the school-run farm, noted George Starkweather, "produces a marked improvement in their general health as they come back to school strengthened and fattened."[16] Armstrong also remarked how the "open air, and out-door life have braced them [Indians] up enormously."[17]

The successful Shellbanks outing encouraged Pratt to secure northern homes for Indian workers. During a visit to Philadelphia in November 1878, Pratt informed the audience that he hoped to place Indian students on "the thrifty farms of Chester County or other places where they might live in a plain way, work hard and get accustomed to industrious habits, and learn by frequent and everyday experience the

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[15]Michael Oshkeneny (Young Man), "From an Indian in the Middle Class," SW (April 1881), in SF, HUA.

[16]CMF, "Indian Days at Hampton," 31; Starkweather, "Incidents of Indian Life," SW 8 (August 1879), 85; SCA, "Annual Report," SW 9 (June 1880); Annie Beecher Scoville, "Indian Outings," SW 24 (September 1895), 157.

[17]CMF, "Indian Days at Hampton," 29-30; SW 8 (July 1879), 74.

method of his [white farmer's] cultivation." The summer experience would also provide, argued Pratt, a good way of giving Indian scholars "a practical idea of working habits."[18]

Paving the Way: Etahdleuh's Trip North

Word of the successful work-study program reached Ezra Hayt, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Hayt, a strong supporter of Hampton's assimilationist objectives, instructed Armstrong to locate "places at trades, farming, or other practical labor, for the greater part of the Florida Indians, now at your Institute . . . as a measure calculated to accomplish the greatest results of their self-reliance, English speaking, and general needs."[19]

When Hampton officials later claimed credit for inaugurating the outing system, a furious Pratt remarked: "you tell it all so well. But you do not give the truth of history." Pratt then wrote:

> Permit me to say that I began your Indian feature at Hampton and inaugurated the Indian Outing system for you, having previously made it a success in Florida: that I did it upon a principle for which I had argued long before, claiming that the Indian should be brought out from the reservations and permitted to live among us and associate with us, and thus be enabled to learn our civilization in a practical, commonsense

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[18]RHP, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, November 22, 1878.

[19]Ezra A. Hayt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington, DC, January 29, 1879, to SCA, Hampton Normal & Agricultural Institute, Office of Indian Affairs Box, HUA.

way."[20]

Pratt was correct. "As our Indian System contemplated that all Indians should become farmers," recalled Pratt, "I urged that during vacation they have privileges among our farmers to gain practical knowledge for managing their own farms."[21]

Pratt also contacted New Englanders about the possibility of such an undertaking. While still at Hampton, Pratt approached Deacon Alexander Hyde, a resident of Lee, Massachusetts, about sending Indian students north during the summer of 1879.[22] Hyde, a member of Hampton's Board of Trustees, encouraged Pratt to pursue his strategy for establishing the outing system in the Berkshires of western Massachusetts and volunteered to help recruit host families. But New England farmers hesitated when asked to welcome former prisoners of war into their homes.[23]

Pratt responded to the situation with characteristic boldness. Confident that he could appeal to the piety of

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[20]RHP, Carlisle, PA, October 1, 1895, to Annie Beecher Scoville, Hampton Institute, in Department of Interior, Indian School Service Correspondence, Frissell & Briggs Box, "F. Gleason, Capt. Pratt, & Others" File, HUA. Pratt was responding to Annie Beecher Scoville's comments published in SW 24 (September 1895), 157.

[21]RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 192-93; RHP, Carlisle, PA, October 1, 1895 to Annie Beecher Scoville, HUA.

[22]RHP, Carlisle, PA, October 1, 1895, to Annie Beecher Scoville, HUA.

[23]Elaine Goodale Eastman, "A New Method of Indian Education," Outlook (January 27, 1900), 222.

Berkshire residents, Pratt told Armstrong: "Let me take one of the boys as a sample card and go to Berkshire and I believe I can find homes and start the outing." The general responded to the proposal by encouraging Pratt to journey to Massachusetts with Etahdleuh Doanmoe (Kiowa), a former Fort Marion prisoner deemed Hampton's most educated Indian.[24]

It was Etahdleuh, however, and not Pratt who paved the way for Hampton's outing system. During the trip north, the Kiowa pupil addressed a Congregational missionary society meeting in Lee, Massachusetts. Appealing to the Christian sentiment of the crowd, Etahdleuh declared that

> We have been here one year, and we study hard and are learning to work and be men. We like it. I see that every white boy and girl and every black boy and girl can go to school, and that's the way they get ahead of the Indians. Indians have no chance. You give all Indian boys and girls schools and teachers like you have and Indians will do better.[25]

Pratt noticed that the Kiowa pupil had touched a nerve. Etahdleuh was, after all, living proof that "bloodthirsty" warriors could be transformed.

Pratt followed the Kiowa's address by reassuring the skeptical audience that native scholars would prove efficient farm helpers. He also vouched for the safety of

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[24]RHP, Carlisle, PA, October 1, 1895, to Annie Beecher Scoville, HUA.

[25]Etahdleuh Doanmoe, "My Home in Indian Territory," SW 8 (June 1879), 72; Joseph Willard Tingey, "Blacks and Indians Together: An Experiment in Biracial Education at Hampton Institute (1878-1923)," (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia Teacher's College, 1978), 158.

every family and for the absolute good conduct and industry of Hampton's native scholars.[26] Etahdleuh's presence ultimately convinced some families to welcome natives into their homes. Many in the crowd agreed that a knowledge of trades and agriculture could help Indians adjust to rapidly changing reservation conditions. Following the meeting, a handful of local residents stepped forward to receive Indian assistants. Others decided to think about Pratt's proposal before reaching any conclusions. Hampton would not have to wait long. "The next day," recalled Pratt, "Deacon Hyde, the Indian [Etahdleuh] and I drove around the country and in two days we found homes for all [seventeen natives] we had to place out. I then sent word to General Armstrong at Hampton and the young men were forwarded."[27]

Ironically, neither Pratt nor Hampton officials perceived the true reason the school's pioneering outing program succeeded. Pratt later wrote: "I claim credit for its origin and for overcoming the difficulties of its inception. It could not have been a success except for my three years' work in Florida upon those young Indian men who by their good conduct that year made possible all your

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[26]RHP, Carlisle, PA, October 1, 1895, to Annie Beecher Scoville, HUA.

[27]RHP, Carlisle, PA, October 1, 1895, to Annie Beecher Scoville, HUA; RHP, Battlefield and Classroom, 192-94.

subsequent success."[28] Like Hampton authorities before him, Pratt claimed too much credit for establishing the outing system.[29]

Etahdleuh was the person responsible for launching Hampton's innovative summer work-study program in the Northeast. Without the presentation by this educated Kiowa, no farm families would have agreed to welcome "savages" into their homes. Etahdleuh shattered their stereotypes. He was an articulate Christian Indian who asked for an opportunity denied to others. He was willing to work, attend church services, and learn. Etahdleuh, not Armstrong or Pratt, touched the hearts of New England churchgoers. His presence challenged the members of the missionary society to live out the Christian precepts they held so dear. Others in attendance that night may have had other motives. Once farmers recognized that educated Indians were no different from other laborers, they may have perceived Hampton's outing system as an opportunity to acquire a cheap supply of summer farmhands. Either way, it was Etahdleuh's presence that brought the outing program to fruition.

Hampton's Massachusetts Annex

Hampton opened its "Massachusetts Annex" during the summer of 1879. Indian participants received free room and

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[28]RHP, Carlisle, PA, October 1, 1895, to Annie Beecher Scoville, HUA.

[29]Edith Armstrong Talbot, Samuel Chapman Armstrong (New York, 1964), 35-36, 42-49.

board and a small salary, generally twelve dollars per month, in return for their labor. Armstrong and Pratt believed that practical training in the operation and management of a small family farm would better prepare Indians to operate a homestead of their own. Both men also recognized that the close relationship between the students and their New England hosts would improve the English skills of the Indian laborers. In addition, students would have the opportunity to live and interact with "model" Christian families, thus easing their fear of associating with whites and introducing them to the Christian religion. The school's outing program, argued its supporters, would enhance the natives' academic, vocational, cultural, and religious training.[30]

The seventeen Indians who participated in Hampton's inaugural outing included some Fort Marion Indians and the most advanced members of the Dakota Territory party that came to Hampton in November 1878. The native apprentices all secured placements near Lee, Massachusetts, or Syracuse, New York, where they remained until the resumption of classes in October.[31]

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[30]HWL, in Ten Years' Work for the Indians at Hampton, Virginia, 1878-1888 (Hampton, 1888), 36-37; SW 8 (August 1879), 85; SCA, "Annual Report," in RCIA (1882), serial 2100, 181-82.

[31]"Indians in Berkshire Co., Mass.," SW 8 (August 1879), 85.

Writing to his Hampton friends from his placement with Alexander Hyde in Lee, Massachusetts, Etahdleuh Doanmoe reported that "all the boys [are] quite well and happy, they come to see me quite often when they have time in the evening." White Breast (Sayedda), a Mandan from Fort Berthold Agency, remarked that "I like it here very much and people have been very kind to me, and I am going to try hard to do my best if I can and try to do right." Kobe (Wild Horse), a Kiowa who came to Hampton from Fort Marion, informed a Hampton friend that he found it difficult at first to feel comfortable in the North. Kobe recalled that he did not talk to his host family much "because I am a little afraid of them, and they afraid of me."[32]

Soaring Eagle (Ma-ah-chis), a Cheyenne pupil, also participated in Hampton's inaugural outing. He informed Helen Ludlow, a faculty member at Hampton, that he especially enjoyed the visit to New York City during the trip north. Soaring Eagle announced that he volunteered to work in Massachusetts because "I want to talk English . . . and I also want to learn how to work. I want the white mans way." Another former war captive, White Bear (Arapaho), ventured north to improve his ailing health. During his stay, White Bear informed Pratt that he felt stronger. In addition, the Arapaho pupil proudly told his former warden

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[32]Etahdleuh, White Breast, and Kobe, quoted in SW 8 (August 1879), 85.

that he learned hoeing, milking, and a variety of other farm chores. "I want to do the white road as long as I live," announced White Bear, "and help my Indian people when I go back to them." Maybe the long confinement in Florida convinced the former prisoners that changing reservation conditions demanded educated leaders who could help lead Indians down the "white man's road." These students were, for the most part, a select group of Fort Marion prisoners who chose to remain in the East following their three-year incarceration.[33]

Unfortunately, the summer of 1879 was not a pleasant experience for every participant. John Robb (Cheyenne River Sioux), the son of Chief Tantankaska, came to Hampton with Pratt in November 1878. The young Lakota seemed to possess all the skills necessary to do well at Hampton. He had been adopted by a white trader at the agency following his father's death and came east with a knowledge of English and a desire to learn more. John also served as an unofficial interpreter at Hampton, helping the frightened members of the Dakota party adjust to boarding school life. During the summer outing, however, Robb's health deteriorated. Fearing that the Hampton student was mortally ill, R.C. Robbins, Robb's host, took the ailing student to a private hospital in Syracuse, New York. Robb died there on August 21,

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[33]Soaring Eagle, Courety, Massachusetts, June 7, 1879, to HWL, SF, HUA; White Breast quoted in SW 8 (August 1879), 85.

1879.[34] Tsadletah (Kiowa), a former Fort Marion prisoner, also died during his summer outing.[35] For two of the seventeen Indian participants, the trip north, designed to improve their health and to teach them the "white man's road," killed them.

Hampton's inaugural outing produced mixed results. On the one hand, student workers satisfied their New England employers and appeared to enjoy the respite from the Tidewater's humid heat. Yet, two students died. Despite their deaths, however, Armstrong and Pratt vowed to continue dispatching native apprentices north each summer.

During the summer of 1880, Indian students had the opportunity to choose where they wanted to spend their summer. Advanced pupils (members of the November 1878 Dakota party) who did not want to work on the Shellbanks Farm or those who did not go north the previous year had the first opportunity to go to New England. Not surprisingly, native pupils desiring to learn "only English" preferred to spend their vacation living with white families. Less acculturated pupils or those who did not see the benefit of agricultural training decided to work at Shellbanks.

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[34]John Robb, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA; "Record of Returned Indians," 18, HUA; SW 8 (January 1879), 8. See the Appendix for a complete list of Indians who died during their Hampton stay.

[35]Tsadletah, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA; SW 8 (November 1879), 109.

Indians choosing to remain at Hampton during the summer most likely retained more of their traditional culture than the students who traveled north. These pupils may have been quietly rejecting Armstrong's assimilationist agenda. Instead of journeying to Massachusetts to learn English or to work on a farm, students toiling in Shellbanks' fields spoke to one another in their native tongue. In the evenings, the Shellbanks squad relaxed around the campfire and recounted the heroic feats and exploits of their tribes. For Indians wanting to remain at Hampton, summers at the school-owned farm may have been a vital link in retaining a tie to cherished traditions and customs. Ironically, instead of hastening their acculturation, the Shellbanks experience probably reinforced many traditional practices while also fostering the rise of pan-Indianism at Hampton.[36]

Students enjoying the relative freedom of Shellbanks could, and did, converse in their native tongues. Indians working in Massachusetts, however, made a conscious decision to refine their English skills. Yet on some occasions, their outing experiences may also have reinforced the retention of Indian languages. Helen Townsend, a teacher at Hampton whose family welcomed native scholars into their home, recalled that "We learned enough of the Sioux language to sing and read from the Sioux Bible."[37] For the Townsend

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[36]CMF, "Indian Days at Hampton," 31-38.

[37]CMF, "Indian Days at Hampton," 38.

family at least, the educational process worked two ways. The Townsends helped their student workers improve their English skills and the Indian apprentices tutored the Townsends in Lakota. The white family's interest in learning Lakota reinforced the native scholars' sense of self-worth and encouraged them to retain much of their traditional culture. Instead of attempting to erase the pupils' tribal heritage or to dismiss it as heathen and barbaric, host families like the Townsends actually learned it themselves. In doing so, theses pillars of their church and community sanctioned the preservation of a culture that educators, politicians, and missionaries sought to obliterate.

Co-Education in the Massachusetts Annex

Female students first participated in the outing program during the summer of 1880. Booker T. Washington, one of Hampton's most famous graduates and the founder of Tuskeegee Institute, recalled how faculty members selected twenty-five male and female students, especially those who could not speak English, to live among "excellent farming people" who spoke nothing but English. In addition to improving their language skills, students also received "a three-and-a-half months drill in practical living and working." Washington commented that the experience was especially valuable for the female participants. "The hair must now be arranged becomingly," continued Washington, "the

colors that adorn their persons must correspond, and there is a certain dignity in their carriage."[38] Including female students in the outing excursions fulfilled an important educational objective of the school. A summer spent working in New England homes would, in Armstrong's view, help prepare female participants for their future roles as wives and mothers.[39]

Both Carl Schurz, the Secretary of the Interior, and E.A. Marble, the acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, endorsed Hampton's innovative co-educational summer experiment. Schurz noted that students entrusted to the "elevating influence" of farm families "have received very valuable lessons in household economy and farming."[40] Marble commented that Hampton's summer apprenticeships provided "an individual home-training which no institution can afford, and where they [Indians] gained a practical idea of civilized home life."[41]

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[38]BTW, "Incidents of Indian Life at Hampton," SW 10 (January 1881), 7; SCA, in RCIA (1880), in House Executive Document no. 1, 46th Cong., 3d sess., serial 1959, 305; "Off for Berkshire," SW 9 (July 1880), 77.

[39]SCA, in RCIA (1880), serial 1959, 183; Robert A. Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls at Nonreservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920," Western Historical Quarterly 13 (July 1982), 276-77.

[40]Carl Schurz, Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior (1880), serial set 1959, 10.

[41]E.A. Marble [Acting], RCIA (1880), serial 1959, vii, 87.

In 1881 a party of 13 male and 7 female students returned to the Berkshires.[42] Twenty-eight students, 11 females and 17 males, participated in the 1882 outing. School officials noted that the experience served as an object lesson in "what civilized, prosperous life is." In addition, the outing afforded Indian students the opportunity to "have an insight into what is at the basis of all civilization--the Christian home."[43]

In 1883 Hampton officials introduced a new twist to the outing program: year-long placements. A group of nine female students, mostly from the Standing Rock Agency, and eleven male pupils spent the winter of 1883-1884 in the North "learning industry, thrift, English, and the ways of thrifty New England homes."[44] The young women ventured to Massachusetts to help relieve overcrowding at the school. Apparently, five female Omahas wanted to attend Hampton, but there was not enough dormitory space to accommodate them until Armstrong dispatched some students to Massachusetts. Instead of sending the native scholars home, Armstrong devised a method whereby the school retained the annual government appropriation of $167 for each pupil at no cost

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[42]"Incidents of Indian Life at Hampton," SW 10 (October 1881), 101.

[43]"Incidents of Indian Life at Hampton," SW 11 (July 1882), 77; "Incidents of Indian Life at Hampton," SW 10 (September 1881), 93; SCA, "The Indian Question," SW 11 (December 1882), 125.

[44]SW 12 (November 1883), 109.

to the school. Armstrong justified his decision by contending that Indians sent to live in the North did not actually leave the school. "A year, or even a summer, in an intelligent Christian home at the North," contended the general, "gives these children a draught from the very fountain head of our civilization." Indian pupils dispatched to the North, were, in Armstrong's opinion, merely attending one of the school's outlying departments, Hampton's Massachusetts Annex.[45]

Such a move reflected Hampton officials' persistent quest to increase the school's revenues. Hampton may not have had the space, but rather than return Indians to their homes and forfeit the government appropriations, school authorities repeatedly dispatched a handful of male and female Indians to Hampton's "Massachusetts Annex."[46] Native pupils who were not meeting the school's academic standards or those requiring remedial training were frequently

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[45]SCA, "Indians at Hampton," Report of the Principal to Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1878-1916, 9, HUA; CMF, "Guiding the Indian," SW 30 (November 1901), 608; "Incidents of Indian Life at Hampton," SW 12 (August 1883), 87; "From Our Berkshire Colony," SW 13 (February 1884), 19; RCIA (1884), in House Executive Document no. 1, 48th Cong., 2d sess., serial 2287, 196.

[46]Hampton received $167 for up to 100 American Indian students enrolled at the school, excluding the Five Civilized Tribes of Indian Territory. In 1884 the appropriation was reduced to $158.33 per annum, but the government increased the number of students it would assist to 120. Funding was restored to $167 per pupil in 1888. See RCIA (1882), serial 2100, 177; RCIA (1884), serial 2287, xx; SCA, "Annual Report," SW 17 (June 1888), 64.

selected to spend the academic year working for northern families.

Students also journeyed north if their health began to deteriorate. Twenty-four percent of Hampton's Indian students left the school due to illness during the first ten years of the Indian program. Aware that rampant sickness and death might mean the end of Hampton's biracial experiment, Armstrong began returning ailing pupils to their homes. He also sent some frail pupils to live with northern families who nursed them back to health. One Indian student, Emma Fallis (Lower Brulè Sioux), spent over two years (1884-1886) with Dr. L.M. Clark, a female physician residing in Egremont, Massachusetts. School officials later recalled that Fallis was "a bright but delicate girl, who found health and wise training in the home of a lady physician in Massachusetts."[47]

Beginning in 1882, Armstrong began employing the outing system as a disciplinary measure. Until then the outing experience had served as a reward for good behavior and hard work. In 1884 the faculty voted to banish to New England a small cadre of recalcitrant Indians "whose influence we had

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[47]"Memorandum in Regard to Death and Sickness among Indians at Hampton Institute, Va., February 1888," 1, HUA; Emma Fallis, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA; HWL, ed., Twenty-Two Years' Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Va. (Hampton, 1893), 393; "Record of Indian Students Returned from Hampton Institute," Senate Executive Document, No. 31, 52d Cong., 1st sess., serial 2892, 55; SW 14 (December 1885), 130.

reason to distrust, and yet whom we were glad to give one more chance." For Armstrong, such a measure was a logical solution to the persistent overcrowding during Hampton's formative years. Disruptive pupils remained on the government rolls during their banishment in Massachusetts, thus opening additional slots for more deserving Indian applicants. Armstrong was simply fearful of losing much-needed federal monies. But he may also have wanted to give wayward students another chance before expelling them. Hampton's faculty was fully aware that influential reformers, missionaries, and well-placed politicians monitored the progress of the Hampton's native scholars. If too many Indians "returned to the blanket," Hampton's steady flow of federal appropriations would cease.[48]

The policy of transferring a select number of rebellious pupils to Massachusetts in the hope of reforming them continued into the 1920s. Horace Hinman (Winnebago) journeyed north after violating school rules in 1921. Caroline Andrus, a faculty member at Hampton, informed Horace's father and step-mother, Rachel Sheridan, a former Hampton student, that their son violated school rules during Roy Thunder Cloud's visit the school. Roy, an injured World

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[48]"Our Students in Berkshire," SW 13 (April 1884), 43; CMF, "Guiding the Indian," SW 30 (November 1901), 608; Armstrong, RCIA (1892), House Executive Document no. 1, 52d Cong., 2d sess., serial 3088, 696; Almeida, "The Role of Western Massachusetts in the Development of Indian Education Reform," 71, 75-76, 82.

War I veteran who was recuperating at Walter Reed Army hospital, came to Hampton to see Emma Henry (Winnebago), his half-sister. During his stay, Roy enticed the Winnebago boys to accompany him into town. Horace and his comrades later returned to the school inebriated. Rather than expel the boys, Caroline Andrus wrote, "we want them to be in good homes in the North, where they will be with good people, and I hope go to school some."[49]

Beginning in the late 1880s, Hampton officials changed the focus of the outing program. By that time, many of the institution's newest native scholars had previously attended agency schools near their reservations. Unlike Hampton's first Dakota Territory party of November 1878, Indians enrolling in the school during the late 1880s had also acquired a rudimentary knowledge of English and had been drilled in basic academic subjects. In addition, Hampton officials had also improved health conditions at the school, thus reducing the need to send Indians north during the summer months for medical reasons. A continuing decline in Sioux enrollment also precipitated a change. During the early 1890s Oneida students from Wisconsin and Iroquois pupils from New York replaced the Sioux students who began attending schools closer to their western homes. These later arrivals came from farming communities, had "excellent

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[49][CWA], HI, April 21, 1921, to Louis Hinman, Walthill, NE, copy in SF, HUA.

land," and lived in "comfortable homes." In short, they were, in Frissell's estimation, "a civilized people." Not surprisingly, the more acculturated Iroquois scholars requested to participate in the summer outings, for they recognized that the experience would prepare them for life after Hampton. Hampton authorities responded to the new conditions by using the outing system to emphasize the school's agricultural and vocational training.[30]

Passage of the Dawes General Allotment Act on February 8, 1887 also contributed to the change in the outing program. Humanitarian reformers argued that allotment of land in severalty would promote individual land ownership among American Indians. Such a process would also destroy the tribal structure, eliminate reservations entirely, and accelerate the acculturation process. In preparing native pupils for their future responsibilities of farm ownership and American citizenship, Armstrong insisted that time spent in New England would teach Indian participants the skills necessary for economic independence. "More thorough work in farming is desirable," noted Armstrong, "and we hope to give each Indian qualified for it two 'outings' of three and a half months each." In Armstrong's opinion, sending Indians

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[30]HBF, RCIA (1901), in House Document no. 5, 57th Cong., 1st sess., serial 4290, 576; RCIA (1893), House Executive Document no. 1, 53d Cong., 2d sess., serial 3210, 461; RCIA (1896), House Document no. 5, 54th Cong., 2d sess., serial 3489, 407.

north was "like learning to swim by being thrown into the water."[51]

J.D.C. Atkins, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, concurred. "Such a training upon a farm," he argued, "is the best possible way of fitting them for the ownership and cultivation of the lands which are being allotted them by the government." The outing system, when used in conjunction with formal academic and vocational training, placed Indians "beyond all reasonable doubt upon a footing of self-support."[52] Thomas Jefferson Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1889, agreed. "The paramount duty of the hour," he noted, "is to prepare the rising generation of Indians for the new order of things thus forced upon them."[53]

By 1890, school officials had established the outing system as an alternative to vocational training and

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[51]SCA, RCIA (1888), House Executive Document no. 1, 50th Cong., 2d sess., serial 2637, 279; Alice C. Fletcher, "The Preparation of the Indian For Citizenship," Lend A Hand 9 (1892), 190-98; Frederick E. Hoxie, A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1888-1920 (Lincoln, 1984), 70-81.

[52]J.D.C. Atkins, RCIA (1887), House Executive Document no. 1, 50th Cong., 1st sess., serial 2542, 15-16 (the Dawes Act is printed in full 356-59); L.Q.C. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior, Report of November 1, 1887, in House Executive Document no. 1, part 5, vol. 1, 50th Cong., 1st sess., serial 2541, 25-27.

[53]T.J. Morgan, RCIA (1889), House Executive Document no. 1, part 5, 51st Cong., 1st sess., serial 2725, 4, 7-8; T.J. Morgan, "The Education of the American Indian," Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference (1889), 19, HUA.

classwork at Hampton. Student participation in the summer outings also reached its peak during this period. Fifty-seven students ventured north during the summer of 1888. "Special care has been taken this year," remarked Hollis B. Frissell, "to impress the Indians with the thought that the idle, aimless, dependent life of the past is almost over, that in the future it will be 'work or starve'"[54] Nearly all the Indian pupils, except for a few students who remained at Hampton to pursue their trades or those who had previously proved failures in the North, participated in the 1893 summer outing. Due to the ever-increasing number of students wanting to go north, school authorities also expanded the geographical scope of the work-study program. In addition to placing Indians with farm families in Massachusetts and New York, native scholars now secured employment in New Hampshire, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Rhode Island.[55]

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[54]HBF, quoted in RCIA (1888), serial 2637, 280, 281.

[55]"Record of Indian Students Returned from Hampton Institute," serial 2892, 52-87; RCIA (1894), in House Executive Document no. 1, 53d Cong., 3d sess., serial 3306, 414; SW 17 (July 1888), 75; SW 22 (September 1893), 143; SW 22 (November 1893), 166; SW 23 (November 1894). After 1893, nearly every Indian student participated in the outing program. Two reasons account for the program's tremendous growth. The good reputation of Hampton's Indians generated more applications from potential host families. More important, however, was Frissell's decision to stop paying students for their productive trades. Students wanting to earn money now had to participate in the summer outing program. See F.D.G., "Report of Indians in the North," SW 24 (August 1895), 126; SW 26 (April 1897), 69; HBF, "Thirtieth Annual Report of the Principal," SW 27 (May

The outing system was also employed to further the academic training of some of Hampton's brightest Indian scholars. Beginning in the late 1880s, several promising pupils chose to remain in New England to improve their academic studies. Some wanted to prepare themselves for the rigors of college, while others remained to pursue a specific profession. Thomas Miles (Sac & Fox), an 1885 graduate of Hampton, continued his academic training at the Kimball Union Academy in Meriden, New Hampshire. The all-white private school prepared him well, for Thomas graduated from the University of Pennsylvania's Medical School in 1892. Another student, Matthew Ankle (Istagisica), a Standing Rock Sioux, also entered the Kimball Union Academy. "If you want to learn the language and customs of a certain people," he reasoned, "you must go and live with them."[56]

Hampton's outing system attempted to teach Indian pupils the value of Euro-American customs. Ironically, however, some Indians spent their summers living with black families after 1900. Celena Giard (Sweet Flower), a White Earth Chippewa, and Rose Hill (Oneida) worked for a black woman, Ms. Mary Lincoln of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, for sixteen weeks in 1903. Giard enjoyed the family, but

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1898), 96-97.

[56]"Record of Indian Students Returned from Hampton Institute," serial 2892, 19-20, 27, 31, 78-79; Thomas Miles, SF, HUA; Matthew Ankle, April 1901 Scholarship Letter, SF, HUA.

detested her laundry chores. Hill, assigned the responsibility of doing all of the family's cooking during her stay, never complained. Neither of the two girls recalled being mistreated during the summer, nor did they criticize the faculty's decision to send them north to live and work in a black family's home.[57]

Charles Martine (Apache) earned an agriculture certificate from Hampton in 1916, but did not have any suitable job prospects. Rather than return Charles to his western home without a job, Hampton officials intervened and arranged for him to work for Mrs. M. A. Bunn of Southampton, Long Island. Aware that Shinnecock pupils had attended Hampton, Mrs. Bunn contacted school officials asking for a promising Indian pupil to help her operate the family farm. Mrs. Bunn was black, but her husband was a Shinnecock Indian.[58] Unlike other outing participants, Charles Martine worked on an Indian reservation. But the reservation was unique because a great number of blacks had intermarried with Shinnecocks. The hardworking Apache student so impressed Mrs. Bunn that she later arranged to send her own children to Hampton Institute. Martine must have enjoyed his stay as well, for he later married a Shinnecock woman

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[57]Celena Giard, Stockbridge, Massachusetts, February 18, 1904, to My Dear Miss Cockcroft [scholarship letter], in SF, HUA; 1903-1904 Outing Report, in Celena Giard's SF, HUA.

[58]Henry B. Thompson (Shinnecock with African-American heritage), Grace Bunn, and Effie Walker had all previously attended Hampton.

and remained on the reservation. After his first wife's death, Martine married Alice Bunn, a Shinnecock Indian with African-American heritage.[59]

Armstrong and his supporters may have celebrated the success of the outing system, but the program was not without its critics. Tribal leaders and some of the students' families questioned the relevance of the annual summer outings. During his visit to Hampton in February 1885, White Ghost, a Sioux chief, asked a gathering of Hampton's faculty (through his interpreter) why the school sent students north every summer. The chief prefaced his remarks by informing the teachers that some pupils have written home to family members complaining that "they had to rise early--work late--and had no schooling." A startled Armstrong met the attack head on. He informed White Ghost that the school did not force its students to partake in the outings; in fact, "more boys apply to go than places can be found for them."[60]

On a few occasions, family members also voiced their concerns about the annual summer excursions. Daniel Poor

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[59]Charles Martine's Biography Sheet; "Report After Leaving Hampton Institute;" Frank Whipple, Buffalo, New York, January 28, 1916, to CWA, Hampton Institute; M.A. Bunn, Southampton, New York, February 7, 1916, to CWA, Hampton Institute; M.A. Bunn, Southampton, New York, June 17, 1916, to CWA, Hampton Institute. All of the above are in Charles's SF, HUA.

[60]"Minutes of the Meetings of the Indian Teachers Faculty," February 5, 1885, HUA.

Thunder (Rosebud Sioux) wrote Hampton's principal on the eve of the 1902 summer outing to express his wish that his son George Poor Thunder (Sitting Eagle) not participate in the school's program. The angry father told Frissell to "send him home if you do not want him."[61] Another parent, Margaret Goulet Keith (Yankton Sioux), a Hampton alumna, wrote school authorities to inform them that she would permit her daughter, Winona Keith (Yankton Sioux), to participate in the summer outing program only if "she goes with good & kind Christian people & where the people are not rough & where there are not many boys."[62]

The parents of Addie King (Ottawa) took matters into their own hands after Hampton administrators repeatedly ignored their requests not to send their daughter north during the summer. King's stepfather, Moses Keokuk, the head chief of the Sac & Fox, expressed his displeasure to Interior Department officials. In a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Special Agent E.B. Townsend reported that "this girl has been kept in Great Barrington, Mass., since last summer to the great discomfort of herself and parents, who feel that the Department is keeping bad faith with them in not allowing her to remain at school,

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[61]Daniel Poor Thunder, Rosebud, South Dakota, April 5, 1902, to HBF, Hampton Institute, in George Poor Thunder's SF, HUA.

[62]Margaret Goulet Keith, Pine Ridge, South Dakota, September 17, 1900, to HBF, Hampton Institute, in Winona Keith's SF, HUA.

where she was placed, and where they were promised she should remain." Townsend also noted that he had received a letter from King "begging to go home or be returned to Hampton." Townsend concluded his letter by appealing to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to honor the pupil's and her parents wishes. Not surprisingly, King received official permission to return to the Sac & Fox Agency in May 1884.[63]

Mabel Springer (Omaha), the daughter of Grace Pilcher, a Hampton alumna, worked for Mrs. Antoinette Burt of Plainville, Connecticut, during the summer of 1908. The ambitious Hampton student spent a total of four months in New England and earned $2.25 per week. In return, Springer agreed to do general household chores, but stipulated that she would not do any washing or cooking. Her schedule was relatively light. Springer worked in the morning and evening, but did whatever she pleased during the rest of the day. Even though Mrs. Burt was "a good Christian," Springer did not like the fact that Mr. Burt "swore all the time" and was "cross and ugly." On the whole, the Omaha pupil reported that she liked Mrs. Burt and did not mind her chores, but commented that she felt that she did not learn

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[63]E.B. Townsend, Special Agent, Washington, DC, March 4, 1884, to the Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs [Hiram Price], in Office of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Armstrong Box, HUA.

much of value during the summer and recommended that Hampton not send any girls there."

Mabel Springer must have informed her parents about the treatment she received, for her family contacted Hampton officials on the eve of another summer outing to inform school authorities that they did not want Mabel to participate. In fact, her family even proposed paying her room and board if school officials permitted her to spend the summer at Hampton. Concerned relatives believed that sending Indian students north for the summer was "a very good plan," but that their loved one did not need to participate. Her family supported its claim by saying that "we represent that class of family life here at home and we prefer to have her here if she must occupy the position of a domestic in a family." In short, the family considered itself civilized and if Mabel Springer was to do housework, the family preferred that she do it at home.[65]

Hampton's outing system was the natural culmination of Pratt's Fort Marion experiment. Initially, Armstrong and Pratt implemented the summer work-study program to supplement, not replace, the school's academic and vocational curriculum. Indian students who did not wish to spend their summers toiling in New England or those unable

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[64]1908 Outing Report in Mabel Springer's SF, HUA.

[65]Wallace Springer, Walthill, Nebraska, April 7, 1909, to HBF, Hampton Institute, Indian Affairs, Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad Co. & Others Box, HUA.

to locate host families spent their summers working at the Shellbanks Farm. But Armstrong changed the focus of the outing program beginning in the early 1880s when he introduced year-long placements and employed the outing system as a disciplinary measure. By the end of the decade, school officials began using outings to help prepare the most gifted Indian scholars for higher academic studies. The outing system had firmly established itself as a key component of Hampton's training by 1890.

An increase in Iroquois students, especially Oneidas from Wisconsin, and a corresponding decrease in Sioux arrivals hastened the outing system's transformation. Student participation in the summer outings reached its peak after the 1890s, largely because many of the Iroquois and Eastern Band Cherokee pupils came to Hampton with an expressed intention of improving their agricultural and vocational training. The outing program enabled these students to put into practice the skills taught at Hampton. But even the school's best laid plans fell by the wayside if Indian participants did not deem the outing experience worthwhile or culturally relevant.

Chapter VI

"Indians in Yankeeland": The Reality of Hampton's Massachusetts Annex

After 1893, nearly all of Hampton's Indian students participated in the outing program.[1] Teachers frequently reported that the vast majority of the native apprentices enjoyed their summer work experiences. Some pupils, especially those who arrived at Hampton intending to pursue farming careers after finishing their education, liked their New England outings. The hands-on agricultural training prepared them for life after Hampton. Not only would it help their own families, but new agricultural techniques would also benefit their tribes.

Indian students who disliked their summer outings tended to be less assimilated than those who repeatedly

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[1]Forty-nine percent of female Indian students and fifty-six percent of male pupils participated in summer outings from 1880 and 1891. Indian participation in the summer outings reached its peak during the 1890s when nearly all the native students remaining at Hampton for the summer worked in the North. "Notes on the Returned Indian Students of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute," in Senate Executive Document no. 31, 52d Cong., 1st sess., serial 2892; HBF, "Annual Report," in RCIA (1894), House Executive Document no. 1, 53d Cong., 3d sess., serial 3306, 414.

asked to go north. Unwilling summer laborers were also less familiar with English, Christianity, and formal academic training. Moreover, dissatisfied outing participants typically did not come from farming communities, nor did they voluntarily decide to pursue careers in agriculture after leaving school. For these native students, especially Hampton's earliest Dakota Territory arrivals, skills learned during their New England outings were not culturally relevant. As a result, discontented Indian apprentices frequently rebelled, ran away, or later rejected much of what they learned.

Not surprisingly, recalcitrant students who were transferred to New England in a last-ditch attempt to reform their wayward habits also did poorly during their furloughs. Sometimes, these rebellious students had deliberately defied Hampton's rules in a calculated attempt to be returned to their reservations. Instead of being expelled from Hampton, however, they found themselves laboring on northern farms. Many of these pupils continued to cause trouble while working for their host families in the hope that Hampton officials would ultimately send them home.[2]

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[2]Deidre Ann Almeida, "The Role of Western Massachusetts in the Development of Indian Education Reform," (Ed.D. Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1992), 75-108. Almeida's account fails to utilize the rich information found in Hampton's Indian student files. Her account is limited, focusing only on three student profiles.

Student Discontent

During the summer of 1883, a group of angry students abandoned their Massachusetts outing placements in an ill-fated attempt to join a traveling Wild West show. To complicate matters, some of Hampton's female Indian pupils also left their summer employers for a day to attend the performance. Armstrong was furious. He opposed such spectacles because they exploited American Indians and their traditions for profit. Armstrong and other reformers also believed that such shows failed to teach native participants any productive skills or habits necessary for their survival and feared that they glorified Indian warfare and the hunt at the expense of reservation life.[3]

Upon hearing the news of the escapade, Armstrong contacted Marshall Bidwell, the school's Berkshire agent in charge of placing Indian students with local families, and ordered him to detain the scholars at Hampton's expense. The two female Yankton Sioux students, Mary Hinman and Elizabeth Kennedy, were to be confined to separate rooms in the Bidwell home and given a "moderate diet" until Armstrong arrived to mete out additional punishment.[4] The young men

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[3]Thomas Jefferson Morgan, "Wild West Shows and Similar Expeditions," in Francis Paul Prucha, ed., Americanizing the American Indians (Lincoln, 1978), 312.

[4]Apparently Mary Hinman had been sent north to reform her wayward ways. School officials later described her as "a wild, headstrong character, upon whom school discipline and quiet home influence (in Massachusetts) seemed alike wasted." HWL, ed.,

involved, Walter Battice (Sac & Fox), David Stricker (Yankton Sioux), and Thomas Paseca Ashley (Crow Creek Sioux), were to be handed over to police custody. Armstrong then ordered Bidwell to detain the boys for two weeks the next time they disobeyed school rules. He also requested the names of the traveling show's owners so he could alert the Commissioner of Indian Affairs about their activities.[5]

Unhappy Indian workers occasionally attempted to return to their reservations during the summer outings. One pupil, Charles Many Birds, a Mandan and Gros Ventre, abandoned his employer and tried to reach his home at the Fort Berthold Agency in Dakota Territory. Unfortunately, while standing on a platform waiting for the train that would take him to Fort Berthold, a gust of wind blew off his hat. The Hampton runaway instinctively reached out to catch his hat, but lost his balance and fell off the platform, breaking his leg so severely that it had to be amputated.[6]

Iroquois pupils found it easier to return to their eastern homes during their summer outings. Solomon Archiquette (Oneida) participated in three outings during

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Twenty-Two Years' Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Va. (Hampton, 1893), 352.

[5]SCA, Hampton, VA, December 6, 1883, to Marshall Bidwell, in Armstrong Letters, HUA; "Minutes of the Indian Teachers Faculty, 1882-83," December 5, 1883, HUA.

[6]Charles Many Birds, Biography Sheet, in SF, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 380; "Record of Returned Indians," 139, HUA.

his tenure at Hampton, but he eventually grew weary of his extended stays in New England and left his 1899 outing placement without approval. The young Oneida student from Wisconsin may have had another motive for leaving. Instead of returning to his home in Wisconsin, Solomon journeyed to Oneida, New York, perhaps in a quest to understand more about his people and to visit Iroquoia, the land of his ancestors. He may also have wanted to meet distant relatives or to participate in tribal ceremonies.[7]

Other Iroquois pupils followed Archiquette's example. Joseph Tarbell (Mohawk) did not like Hampton or its outing program. Rather than write Hampton officials to complain, he took matters into his own hands and ran away from his Connecticut host family in August 1906. Tarbell had apparently decided that one term at Hampton was enough for him.[8] Female students, like Evelyn Snow (Seneca), also left their summer host families without permission. After completing her first year at Hampton, Snow ventured north in June 1911 to spend the summer working in New York. She was miserable. After only five weeks on the job, Snow voted

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[7]Solomon Archiquette, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA.

[8]Joseph Tarbell (Teneiutatte), Biography Sheet, SF, HUA. Sherman Coulon (Oneida) also returned home without permission during his outing.

with her feet and returned to her home in nearby Cattaraugus, New York.[9]

Most Indians who left their outing placements without permission did so to escape abusive treatment. Rather than spend an entire summer living and working in an exploitative environment, bolder students simply walked off the job and returned home or secured similar employment in the area. One such student, Charles Matches Wicks (Lean Bear), a Cheyenne, planned to spend his summer of 1902 working in Massachusetts. It did not take him very long to change his mind. He told Frederick Gleason, Hampton's Business Manager, that he could not stay because his employer "was ready to jump on me" and referred to him as a "thick headed fool." Rather than remain with an abusive employer, Charles found refuge with a kindly gentlemen who employed Isaac N. Webster (Oneida), a Hampton pupil and friend of Charles.[10]

Some Indian students left their host families if the outing program did not live up to their expectations. An unhappy Carey LaFlesche (Omaha) informed Hampton officials that he planned to depart his Connecticut host family. Instead of working on a farm, LaFlesche announced his intention to pitch for a local baseball team. He later

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[9]Evelyn Snow, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA. Students also abandoned their placements if family emergencies demanded their immediate attention. See Thomas Swan (Chippewa), Biography Sheet), SF, HUA.

[10]Charles Matches Wicks (Lean Bear), Haverhill, MA, June 22, 1902, to F.D.G. [Frederick Gleason], HI, SF, HUA.

defended his decision by commenting that the work was too hard. The native students had to work from seven in the morning until seven at night, with only an hour's break at noon. As a result, neither he nor the other students got much rest. Rather than spend the summer working himself to a frazzle, LaFlesche decided to have some fun while in Connecticut.[11]

Overworked pupils often took matters into their own hands. Albert Marshall (Cheyenne River Sioux), a "passionate and restless" pupil did poorly at Hampton. In 1887, General Armstrong approved a plan to send him to Massachusetts, "hoping that he might get some good from a quiet life there."[12] Marshall was not pleased. He later informed Cora Folsom that he did not know anybody while he lived with the "Yankee farmers." Worse yet, the family "made me work like a slave." After only a short time, Albert became thoroughly disgruntled, especially because his host family had never even bothered thanking him for his labor. Feeling overworked and under-appreciated, Marshall left New England and returned to his home at Fort Bennett, Dakota Territory.[13]

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[11]Carey LaFlesche, Guilford, CT, June 3, [1888], to F.C. Briggs, HI, SF, HUA.

[12]Twenty-Two Years' Work, 428.

[13]Albert Marshall, Fort Bennett, Dakota Territory, December 31, [1887], to CMF, HI, Folsom Correspondence Received, n.d., HUA; Albert Marshall, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA; "Record of Indian Students Returned from Hampton,"

George Jones (Snohomish) also disliked the way his employer mistreated Indian students. Jones declared that "Mr. Gordon from the very start did not treat us right, he used us more like animals than human beings." He also reported that the Indians were overworked and poorly fed. Rather than tolerate such abuse for an entire summer, Jones confronted his employer and eventually left his Massachusetts placement.[14] Another Indian, Paul Naiche (Apache), the son of the Naiche, the hereditary Chiricahua chief, encountered similar problems. When he set out from Hampton, Naiche intended to remain in Connecticut for five months. But he abandoned his placement shortly after arriving in Connecticut because he hated the fact that his white employer ridiculed the quality of his work and repeatedly commented that the Apache would never amount to anything. Fed up with the verbal abuse and angry about not being paid for his labor, Naiche quit.[15]

Students also left their employers when forced to live in substandard housing. John Glick (Santee Sioux) wrote Hampton officials in 1900 to inform them that the house he

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serial 2892, 24.

[14]George Jones, Stow, MA, June 30, 1912, to CWA, HI, in SF, HUA. Jonah Owl (Eastern Band Cherokee) abandoned his 1898 summer placement rather than tolerate his employer's verbal abuse. See James P. Williams, Montcross, CT, August 17, 1898, to HBF, in SF, HUA.

[15]Paul Naiche, North Haven, CT, June 13, 1897, to F.C. Briggs, HI, SF, HUA; Paul Naiche, North Haven, CT, July 10, 1897, to F.C. Briggs, HI, SF, HUA.

was staying in looked all right on the outside, "but the bedroom they gave me is a regular hog pen also there are several other men in the same room." To make matters worse, the "bed quilts are nothing but rags."[16] Another Indian, John Hunter (Winnebago) told Frederick Gleason that his employer "made me room in an old house, and it's very dirty." Hunter did not request a return to Hampton; he merely asked that Gleason "put me where I can have a better room and have better food."[17] One unhappy student commented that "Charley and me have to sleep nights in the horse barn."[18]

Dissatisfied student laborers did not hesitate to leave their summer employers if more lucrative opportunities surfaced during their stay.[19] Thirty-year-old Joseph Beaupre (Chippewa and Yankton Sioux) entered Hampton as a

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[16]John Glick, Lincoln, MA, June 10, 1900, to "Dear Sir," HI, in SF, HUA.

[17]John Hunter, North Amherst, MA, June 10, 1900, to Mr. Gleason, HI, in SF, HUA; S.H. Taylor, North Amherst, MA, to F.C. Briggs, HI, letter in SF, HUA.

[18]James Shot Twice, Ashley Falls, MA, November 18, 1888, to SCA, HI, SF, HUA.

[19]Armstrong, in an effort to stop such activities, wrote Marshall Bidwell, Hampton's outing agent, in May 1884 ordering him to discourage "every farmer employing these Indians who deserted." Apparently a local farmer, Mr. Beebe, had a reputation of luring dependable Indian students away from their host families with the promise of better wages and working conditions. SCA, cited in Joseph Willard Tingey, "Indians and Blacks Together: An Experiment in Biracial Education at Hampton Institute, (Ed.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1978), 158-160.

work-study student in November 1884. In 1888, Beaupre decided to put his vocational training to the test by working in Massachusetts. Shortly after arriving, however, Beaupre left his employer, John Farrar, when he learned that he could double his earnings in town.[20] Another Indian student, Eugene Peters (Tuscarora) asked to leave his 1893 outing placement to help his father operate the family farm. Peters justified his request by informing school officials that he could make more money working at home during the summer. When his letter was not answered, Peters told Frederick Gleason that "I am not stay longer this place because I am man I am not little boy to get that much eight dollars a month for allaways I get smallest wages to my country sixteen dollars month." Rather than spend his summer working for a pittance, Peters wrote that he would return home where he could easily earn twenty dollars a month. He also sarcastically advised Gleason to "send [a] little boy [to] take my place." The Tuscarora pupil concluded his tirade by announcing that "white people can't make me work for small money. I go anywhere . . . I am civilized Indian."[21]

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[20]"Alphabetical List of Indian Boys," 38, HUA; Joseph Beaupre, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA.

[21]Eugene Peters, West Cornwall, CT, May 4, 1893, to SCA, HI, in SF, HUA; Eugene Peters, West Cornwall, CT, May 8, 1893, to Mr. Gleason, HI, SF, HUA. Students often left their employers when they were not paid the wages promised them. One frustrated pupil, Fred Bender (Chippewa) left his stingy employer and secured employment with the Midvale

Not surprisingly, many of the Indians transferred north for disciplinary reasons continued to get into trouble during their New England banishment. One student, Frank Black Hawk (Cetan Sapa), the first Indian with mixed Indian-African ancestry to attend Hampton, spent most of his time at the school getting into trouble. One faculty member recalled that the Standing Rock Sioux pupil was "bright, good natured, and troublesome." Frank apparently had developed a reputation at Hampton of being "fond of drink & good times."[22] After numerous violations of school rules, exasperated instructors voted to transfer Black Hawk to Massachusetts during the 1882 academic year in a desperate effort to alter his wayward habits. Apparently Frank enjoyed his freedom in the North, for in November 1883 he withdrew from Hampton and supported himself by working a variety of jobs in Massachusetts. After growing tired of life in New England, Frank eventually returned to Hampton in September 1884. Believing that the recalcitrant pupil had reformed his bad habits, Armstrong allowed Frank to re-enroll. It was a mistake. Frank was still the same, always getting into trouble and quite frequently encouraging fellow students to follow his example. Black Hawk left

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Steel company earning $18 per week operating a forty-inch, high-powered engine lathe, that manufactured shells for coastal defense guns. Fred Bender, Philadelphia, PA, to CWA, SF, HUA.

[22]Twenty-Two Years' Work, 382-83; "Record of Returned Indians," 138, HUA.

Hampton in June 1885 and returned to Standing Rock where he continued to run afoul of the law.[23]

On one occasion, Hampton authorities sent a native pupil north in a last-ditch effort to help cure his drinking problem. Allen Sawyer (Eastern Band Cherokee) initially did well at Hampton. He later recalled that "for a month or so I was so interested in my studies that I let the whiskey alone." Sawyer managed to steer clear of trouble until "an old veteran" from the neighboring Soldiers' Home offered him a drink of rye whiskey. "That one drink got me going," noted Sawyer. Although he tried to stop drinking, Sawyer could not conquer his addiction and was eventually expelled from the school. Sawyer's father, himself a recovering alcoholic, asked Frissell to intercede on his son's behalf. A short time later, Frissell arranged to send Allen to the Keeley Institute in White Plains, New York. Unfortunately, however, Sawyer resumed his bacchanalian ways and later deserted his wife and family.[24]

Political concerns also entered into decisions to transfer rebellious Indians to the "Massachusetts Annex." George Stricker (Swift Cloud), a Yankton Sioux, did well at

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[23]"Indian Teachers Faculty Meetings," June 11, 1885, HUA.

[24]Allen Sawyer, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA; "Poor Lo Tries the Gold Cure," New York Journal, June 28, 1897, in SF; H. Wayne Morgan, "'No Thank You, I've Been to Dwight': Reflections on the Keeley Cure for Alcoholism," Illinois Historical Journal 82 (1989), 147-66.

Hampton until his fourth year when he "got into bad company, drank several times and at last appeared in public intoxicated." Hampton's founder faced a dilemma. He did not want to expel him, for Stricker's father, Whirling Rock, was a Yankton Sioux judge and a leading member of the tribe's "progressive" faction. Rather than return Stricker home in disgrace, Armstrong gave the boy the option of journeying north to work in Monterey, Massachusetts. Apparently, the change of atmosphere helped Stricker, for teachers remarked that he did well when not under the influence of his companions. In Stricker's case, sending a student to Massachusetts for disciplinary reasons stemmed from a fear of alienating tribal leaders who supported the school. Returning the boy to his home in disgrace might have turned Whirling Rock and other "progressive" leaders against the school.[25]

Satisfied Pupils: The Farmers

The vast majority of male students spent their summers working for New England farmers. Hampton officials believed that such practical training would help prepare native students for the tasks of farm management. Frederick Gleason noted that "many of the boys who go from the school thinking they know all there is to know about farming, find,

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[25]George Stricker, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 355-56; "Record of the Returned Indians," 49, HUA.

as they brush alongside of some sturdy New Englander, that there is yet much to be learned."[26]

Eugene Fontenelle (Omaha) spent the summer of 1887 in Massachusetts helping "an old bachelor" plant seeds and plow his fields. In his letters to Cora Folsom, the young Omaha lad reported that his employer invented an ingenious method of planting seeds. "We broke the plow," wrote Eugene, "so tomorrow we are going to use a crow-bar to make holes, then we will take shotguns and pistols and shoot the seeds into the ground because it is so hard and stony."[27] Fontenelle also informed Folsom that "the gentleman is very easy on me; when we get a little tired we go into the house eat cakes and milk, get the kinks out of our backs, and then we are ready for another dash at it."[28] The eager Hampton pupil did not deny that farm chores were long and tiring, but he did not complain, for working hard was something he felt honor-bound to do. "I find it quite hard work, but I do the best I can," he noted, "because the General told the man I was one he could recommend."[29]

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[26]F.D.G. [Frederick Gleason], "Report of Indians in the North," SW 24 (August 1895), 126.

[27]Eugene Fontenelle, Monterey, MA, June 20, 1887, to CMF, in Folsom, "Correspondence Received, 1887," HUA; Eugene Fontenelle, West Otis, MA, August 13, 1887, to CMF, in Folsom, "Correspondence Received, 1887," HUA; Fontenelle, "A Berkshire Breeze," T&T (September 1887), SF, HUA.

[28]Eugene Fontenelle, SW 16 (November 1887), SF, HUA.

[29]Eugene Fontenelle, "Indians in Berkshire County," T&T (October 1888); "A Berkshire Breeze," T&T (September 1887),

Fontenelle later praised his "annual incursion to Yankeedom." He reported that "the trip to the North for the summer is one of the most important steps in an Indian's education; he is obliged to try and talk English, and he gets many useful lessons on farming, besides innumerable ideas about everything in general that could not be learned otherwise."[30] Fontenelle also noted that Indian participants had to "exercise our powers of observation and imitation" in order to "use our advantages for the elevation and good of our own people when we return home." For the Omaha pupil, such outings were of great educational value. "As long as we are uneducated and ignorant," he declared, "we are subject to the rapacity and imposition of the bad white men; so, my friends, in order to hold our own and be recognized as men among men, we must emulate the ways of our good white brothers."[31]

Indian students who were unfamiliar with the agricultural practices of northern farmers or those who intended to become farmers after leaving Hampton often praised their summer work experience. John Chooromi (Hopi) enjoyed the time he spent on a farm in Conway, Massachusetts. He noticed how different New England farming

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clippings in SF, HUA.

[30]Eugene Fontenelle, "Our Summer Out," SW 17 (January 1888), 8.

[31]Eugene Fontenelle, "Our Summer Out," SW 17 (January 1888), 8.

was from the type of farming his family did in the Southwest. "Since it is different," he wrote, "I am glad to say that I felt that I had learned something that I never would have learned if I never go among the northern farmers."[32] Asa Wall (Potawatomi) shared Chooromi's feelings. He noted in his admission letter that "my people have always farmed for a living."[33] Reflecting on his first outing experience, he remarked that "it was indeed very interesting for me to see how New England farmers managed their farms in comparison with the farmers in the west."[34] After his last summer outing in 1905, Wall reported that "a great deal of knowledge can be obtained through books, but I believe I have gotten more knowledge of New England during the summers than any book can give."[35]

Another Indian pupil, George Hamlin (White Earth Chippewa), announced that his summer laboring in New England "has done me a great deal of good in many ways." The agricultural apprenticeship also persuaded Hamlin to teach others the skills he learned while in the East. "We cannot be citizens of this country until we are self-supporting,"

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[32]John Chooromi, Scholarship Letter to Rev. Mr. & Mrs. DeWitt Mason, dated November 1902, SF, HUA.

[33]Asa E. Wall, Admission Letter, October 2, 1903, SF, HUA.

[34]Asa E. Wall, December 6, 1904, to Mrs. Ruth A. Beech, Scholarship Letter, SF, HUA.

[35]Asa E. Wall, HI, to Mrs. Ruth A. Beech, November 8, 1905, Scholarship Letter, SF, HUA.

declared Hamlin, "and we can no longer earn a livelihood by our old methods of hunting and fishing. It is necessary then, that we should be taught to live as the white people do. This is what Hampton does for its students."[36]

Not all of the Indian students participating in Hampton's outing program yearned to become farmers after leaving school. Some native pupils, mostly those from more acculturated families, headed north to learn more about the customs and manners of white people. Paul Alford (Absentee-Shawnee), the son of Thomas Wildcat Alford, an 1882 Hampton graduate, summarized the feelings of these students when he noted that "working out in the summer is a great benefit to the students, as it not only gives them a change of climate and gives them a rest from their books, but also teaches them to save their money." Students like Alford valued the cultural opportunities that awaited Indian scholars heading north each summer. Some hoped to improve their English skills while others planned to enroll in all-white preparatory schools.[37]

In some cases, unhappy native scholars viewed Hampton's outing program as a welcome respite from the constant demands of boarding school life. Two Standing Rock Sioux pupils, Frank Wankicun and Barney Red Stone, wrote John J.

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[36]George Hamlin, 1902 Scholarship Letter, SF, HUA.

[37]Paul Alford, Scholarship Letter, March 25, 1904, SF, HUA.

Gravatt, an Episcopal minister and spiritual advisor to Hampton students, requesting to spend one year in the North together. The pair informed Gravatt that "we want to learn how to talk English before we going home. We knew already how to milk cows and haul hay or any that kind works." For these two pupils, Hampton's curriculum only repeated things they already knew. They saw the opportunity to learn more English if they spent an entire year working in New England. Their plea also suggested that Indians were not learning English very well at Hampton, probably because so many students spoke in their native tongues when out of earshot of faculty and staff. Then again, the Lakota students may have written the letter in a clever attempt to flee the school and its teachings. By spending a year in New England together they could reject much of the institution's assimilationist rhetoric and reinforce one another's cherished tribal traditions.[38]

Some Hampton students requested to spend their summers in New England in an effort to try their hands at a specific trade. Jacob Casimera Morgan, a future Navajo tribal chairman, spent the summer of 1902 working in Connecticut. Morgan had graduated from Hampton in 1900, but remained at the school to pursue postgraduate studies to prepare himself for a position as an industrial trades teacher. During his

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[38]Frank Wankicun and Barney Red Stone, HI, September 23, 1888, in Wankicun's SF, HUA.

stay Morgan worked in a lumber mill and volunteered to help a local farmer build a barn.[39] George William Brown (Metawagwen), a Chippewa from the Lac du Flambeau reservation in Wisconsin, also headed north to practice his craft shortly after earning a trade certificate in 1910. Brown soon found himself working for a contractor and builder in Amherst, Massachusetts. Initially, he intended to spend his summer plying his trade as part of the school's outing experience and to return to Hampton in the fall to pursue academic training.[40] But he decided against returning to Hampton for the fall semester because "I want one whole years experience before I go back to school." Brown also assured his Hampton friends that he was learning a great deal about the practical aspects of carpentry. "I learn to do things I never did before," he noted, "and I wish to learn more of it before I lose this chance."[41] After an extended stay in Massachusetts, Brown returned to Hampton to complete his academic studies. He graduated from Hampton in 1913 and became a mechanic and carpenter in the United States Indian Service.

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[39]Jacob Casimera Morgan, "From Hampton to Bloomfield," T&T (July 1902), in SF, HUA.

[40]George William Brown, SW 39 (November 1910), in SF, HUA.

[41]George William Brown, Amherst, MA, September 29, 1910, in SF, HUA.

Richard Powless (Oneida), an 1888 graduate of Hampton, later returned to New England to learn the printer's craft. Powless secured employment at the Riverside Press in Cambridge, Massachusetts. He hoped that the apprenticeship would introduce him to the realities of operating a printing business. Powless may have also wanted to learn more about white people. The Oneida graduate wrote that "I think my work here is a great good to my race. I am sort of an object lesson to the people here. They begin to think that Indians can do something if given a chance--another thing, we begin to understand each other better. They know now that I haven't any scalping knife with me so they are not quite so afraid of being scalped."[42]

Female Outing Experiences

Many of the female pupils spent their summers in New England as part of their domestic science training. Although such work might entail tending to a garden plot, most female participants spent their summers working as domestic servants in northern homes. Ida Elm (Oneida) spent the summer of 1904 working in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. After returning to Hampton, Elm reported that the job was too lonely.[43] Apparently she was willing to give the experience another try, for she participated in

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[42]Richard Powless, letter dated January 12, 1891, Cambridge, MA, in SF, HUA.

[43]Ida Elm, 1904 Outing Report, SF, HUA.

a total of five summer outings (1904-1908) during her stay at Hampton. In 1906, she earned $2.50 a week working as a domestic servant in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. After returning to Hampton, Elm reported that the work was "too hard for one girl."[44]

Mercy Conger (Wacantkiyawin), a Yankton Sioux, spent the summer of 1886 working as a domestic servant in Westfield, Massachusetts. She later reported that "all the white people I knew were very good and kind." Conger also informed her friends that "I can wash dishes very good and sweep and keep a house clean." The summer experience persuaded the young Hamptonian that "I could keep house myself pretty nicely now . . . I think it is very nice for the Indian girls to be in these homes for a while because they can learn a great deal which will help them in the future when they have homes of their own, and in doing housework for others."[45]

Grace Pilcher (Omaha) also spent one summer working as a domestic servant in Massachusetts. Pilcher later recalled that she devoted each morning to improving her sewing skills. After a lunch break, she then spent two hours each afternoon in school. Unlike most other students, Pilcher's outing involved an important academic component in addition

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[44]Ida Elm, 1906 Outing Report, SF, HUA.

[45]Mercy Conger, "Letter of An Indian Girl from Westfield," SW 16 (November 1887), in SF, HUA; Biography Sheet, SF, HUA.

to the drudgery of household chores.[46] The Omaha pupil found the experience educational and returned to the Townsend family again the following the summer. Her employer later informed Hampton officials that "she is a dear girl, just like our own daughters to us, always pleasant and thoughtful, and willing to do whatever is required of her."[47]

Sadie Wall (Misnogoqua), a Potawatomi, spent the summer of 1905 working on a dairy farm in Plainville, Connecticut. Her duties entailed doing "most of the cooking, baking, and the general housework." Despite the chores, Wall wrote that "I enjoyed my work very much. It makes us see the different ways of housekeeping so [it is] helping us for our future when we go north to work." More important, Wall realized that the work helped prepare her for a position in the government service. Wall, who hoped to become a field matron in the Indian Service, noted that "a field matron lives among the Indians and teaches them how to care for their homes also how to bring up their children. I wish very much to be useful."[48]

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[46]T&T (March 1887), clipping in Grace Pilcher's SF, HUA; Grace Pilcher, Monterey, MA, letter dated July 12, 1887, SF, HUA.

[47]SW 17 (December 1888), clipping in Grace Pilcher's SF, HUA.

[48]Sadie Wall, February 1, 1906, to "Dear Friends," SF, HUA.

Like their male counterparts, female students also encountered problems during their summer outings. The young women frequently complained about loneliness, overwork, and underpayment. For some Indians, like Winifred Garlow, a Tuscarora who worked in a New York bath house, meager salaries contributed to their unhappiness. Garlow did not like her employer because the woman did not pay her the amount agreed upon.[49] Other students, like Emma Giard (White Earth Chippewa), complained that their employers were "difficult to please."[50]

Female students who were shunned by their host families or made to feel inferior regretted heading north for the summer. Winona Keith (Yankton Sioux), the daughter of Maggie Goulet Keith, a Hampton alumna, spent the summer of 1901 living in Plainville, Connecticut. Although Winona worked for an Anglican minister's family, she hated her summer placement. Her employer never said an encouraging word or anything complimentary. To make matters worse, the couple's children were troublesome and undisciplined.[51] Annie Bender (White Earth Chippewa) also regretted working for a minister's family. Bender later confided to Hampton employees that she would not return because her employer, Mrs. T.C. Luce, forced her to live in a shed the entire

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[49]Winifred Garlow, 1909 Outing Report, SF, HUA.

[50]Emma Giard, 1908 Outing Report, in SF, HUA.

[51]1901 Outing Report, in Winona Keith's SF, HUA.

summer. Apparently the family did not consider their Indian employee worthy of equal treatment. In their eyes she was nothing more than a mere house servant.[52]

Hampton officials deliberately separated female Indians in an attempt to force the young women to hone their domestic skills. If summer host families were kind and encouraging, students typically enjoyed their outings. All too often, however, students like Lucy Cummings (Pawnee) spent seventeen weeks cooking, washing dishes, laundering their employers' clothes, and assisting with farm chores. Not surprisingly, many Indians reported that the work was too difficult for one person. Still others noted that their host families made the loneliness of the outing even worse by isolating them.[53]

Students Remain in the North

Some Indian students enjoyed their summers in New England so much that they decided to remain in the region after completing their course of study at Hampton. Swept up in the wave of patriotic sentiment during the Spanish-American War, Charles Foreman (Delaware) enlisted in Company D of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment during the summer of 1898. Foreman apparently liked New England, for he returned to the home of his host family after his term of service expired and found employment in South Lincoln,

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[52]Annie Bender, 1903 Outing Report, SF, HUA.

[53]Lucy Cummings, 1903 and 1904 Outing Reports, SF, HUA.

Massachusetts, as a carpenter. He eventually married, fathered five children, built his own home, and worked in the area until his death in December 1935.[54]

A few of Hampton's Indian alumni returned to New England when business opportunities surfaced. William Oliver McIntosh (Sisseton Sioux) spent four consecutive summers working in Massachusetts. After earning his tailor's certificate from Hampton, William returned to the area and secured employment as a tailor in Amherst. McIntosh put his training to good use at the Amherst Laundry where he cleaned and pressed clothing. H. Lester Utley, the laundry's owner, informed Hampton officials that McIntosh was a capable and trusted employee. "About a year ago," wrote Utley, "I gave him entire charge of my dry-cleaning department, which has rapidly grown under his supervision." William, who probably realized that his trade would not help him secure employment in the West, remained in Amherst and eventually purchased a stake in the company.[55]

John Whistler (Sac & Fox) also headed north after completing his Hampton training. Whistler spent several

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[54]T&T (September 1898), in SF, HUA; Mary Farrar, South Lincoln, MA, March 13, 1905, to CWA, HI; Charles Foreman, South Lincoln, MA, August 7, 1910, to CWA, HI; Charles Foreman, South Lincoln, MA, August 19, 1921, to CWA, HI. The letters are in Foreman's SF, HUA. Foreman's friend, Joseph DuBray (Yankton Sioux) also enlisted during the summer of 1898.

[55]H. Lester Utley, Amherst, MA, November 24, 1913, to HBF, HI, SF, HUA; "Report After Leaving Hampton Institute," SF, HUA.

summers working in New England and, after his graduation in 1891, continued his education at the Kimball Union Academy in New Hampshire. After two years at the preparatory school, Whistler chose to remain in New England and found work managing a store in Windsor, Massachusetts. He later moved to nearby Lanesborough and managed the N.N. Cummings General Store for seventeen years. The community elected Whistler the town's treasurer and named him a trustee of the town's Joint Ministry Fund. In time, the Hampton alumnus moved to Pittsfield where he managed a movie theater. After the business failed, Whistler and his wife purchased "The Wayside Lunch," a lunch room in town. The Sac & Fox graduate must have enjoyed his life after school. Northerners embraced him, elected him to positions of civic leadership, and patronized his family business. Not surprisingly, Whistler never returned to his western home.[56]

Illness & Death

William Sapcut (Comanche) reflected on his outing experience shortly after Principal Frissell's death in 1917. Sapcut recalled the time that Frissell visited him in New England. Not only was the pupil lonely, he was deathly ill. A local physician warned Frissell that Sapcut was too ill to

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[56]Hampton Graduates, 1871-1899 (Hampton, 1899), 163; John Whistler's Biography Sheet, SF, HUA; J.W., "A Vacation in New Hampshire," T&T (December 1891); "An Indian Town Treasurer," SW 29 (May 1900); "The New 'Lyric' Theatre," Pittsfield (MA) Journal, February 5, 1913; SW 53 (May 1924). Clippings are in Whistler's SF, HUA. Mark Welsh (Eastern Band Cherokee) also spent his working life in Massachusetts.

work. Frissell set out immediately for Sheffield, Massachusetts, and arranged to have Sapcut sent to an anti-tuberculosis camp in West Pittsfield.[57] Sapcut remarked that "he [Frissell] heard I was going home and came to see me. I was so blue, discouraged, and downhearted I hardly cared what became of me. He persuaded me that it was better for me to remain in the East, and it was through his fatherly advice and thoughtfulness that I gained courage, made up my mind to get well, and continue my education." Sapcut was fortunate. Other Indian students never recovered from their illnesses and died during their outings.[58]

Several factors account for the native pupils' deaths. Many of the Indians who perished while in the North, especially students from Standing Rock Agency, were sent to New England in a desperate attempt to save their lives. When David Plenty (Standing Rock Sioux) became ill at Hampton, school officials, concerned that he would die, thought it best to send him to Massachusetts to recuperate. Unfortunately, Plenty's health rapidly deteriorated and he died in a Boston hospital in August 1891.[59] Other pupils

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[57]Dr. Wakefield, Sheffield, MA, June 28, 1916, to Hampton Institute; William Sapcut, West Pittsfield, MA, July 17, 1916, to CWA, both letters in SF, HUA.

[58]William Sapcut, "A Father to the Indians," SW 46 (November 1917), in SF, HUA. Bertha Mountain Sheep (Crow), John Robb (Cheyenne River Sioux), and Tsadletah (Kiowa) all died while north.

[59]David Plenty, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA; SW 20 (September 1891), in SF, HUA.

like Thomas Last (Standing Rock Sioux) became seriously ill during their outings. In Last's case, concerned Hampton officials hurriedly appointed Robert Matonapi, another ailing Standing Rock Sioux, to accompany the consumptive pupil to his western home as soon as possible. Unfortunately for Last, his health never improved and he died within two days after returning home in 1892.[60]

Poor health conditions at the western agencies, especially the high incidence of tuberculosis, most likely contributed to the Lakota pupils' demise. Then again, the students from Standing Rock Agency were Hunkpapa, remnants of Sitting Bull's rebellious band. They were the sons of warriors and chiefs who had desperately struggled against the reality of reservation life. Their deaths may have been a form of rebellion against their forced acculturation. Rather than adjust to new conditions, some Indian pupils lost their will to live.[61]

Resistance & Rebellion

Despite Hampton officials' assurances regarding the remarkable success of the school's outing system, Indian

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[60]Thomas Last, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA; SW 21 (September 1892) and SW 21 (October 1892), clippings in SF, HUA; Robert Matonapi, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA. Matonapi died the following year. Another Standing Rock Sioux pupil, Joseph Walking Eagle, died shortly after being sent home from his outing in 1893. One female Standing Rock Sioux student, Marcella Pleets, died in New York in August 1888.

[61]Robert M. Utley, The Lance and the Shield (New York, 1993), 174-259.

students repeatedly violated school rules during their northern excursions. One of the most frequent violations of Hampton's rules involved alcohol. During the summer of 1888, Albert Fontenelle (Omaha) procured liquor for a contingent of Indian pupils heading to their northern placements. Instead of punishing all those involved, school officials immediately blamed Fontenelle for leading the other pupils astray, something he had done repeatedly during his tenure at Hampton.[62] But rather than expel him, Hampton officials tolerated his indiscretions while up north.[63] Thompson Wildcat Alford (Absentee-Shawnee), the brother of Thomas Wildcat Alford, a famous Hampton graduate, also ran afoul of Hampton's rules. Thompson had been caught hiding a quantity of liquor that he intended to imbibe during the return trip to Hampton. He paid a high price for his indiscretion. After reaching Hampton, Alford was placed in the guard house and later expelled from the school. One faculty member commented that "he has the spirit of mischief in him; and it involves him in trouble all the time."

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[62]Faculty members suspected Albert because he had been dismissed from Hampton before because of his drinking. During his exile from the school, Fontenelle appeared to have reformed his behavior. Hampton's faculty voted to readmit him after he graduated from Haskell Institute as the class valedictorian. See Albert Fontenelle, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA.

[63]Twenty-Two Years' Work, 281; "Alphabetical List of Indian Boys," 64-65, HUA; Albert Fontenelle, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA. Albert later graduated from the school in 1889.

Rather than allow Thompson to lead other Indian boys into trouble, members of the Indian faculty thought it best to send him home.[64]

Occasionally, Indians were arrested during their summer outings. William Burgess (Otoe) spent his summer of 1892 working in Springfield, Massachusetts. Apparently William liked his placement, for he did well until September when he was arrested for public intoxication. He returned to Hampton and informed Frissell that he had consumed liquor and "was willing to take his punishment." Rather than expel the penitent, school officials banished him to the guardhouse for one week to atone for his poor judgement.[65]

Sexual Relations

The coeducational nature of the Hampton outing program generated more than a few problems. Some Indian students fell in love during their New England excursions and engaged in premarital sex. It is highly unlikely that school officials ever learned of the frequency of such activity, but when problems surfaced, Hampton authorities heard about the indiscretions. Teachers learned of Fred Pattee's (Sioux/Cherokee) transgressions only after he had abandoned his 1911 summer placement. Pattee justified his quick departure by telling Caroline Andrus that his employer

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[64]"Thompson Wildcat Alford, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA; "Alphabetical List of Indian Boys," 26-27, HUA.

[65]Hampton Institute Discipline Log, 1892-1893, October 3, 1892, HUA.

worked him too hard. Instead of returning to Hampton in the fall, however, he told Andrus that he intended to enroll in a public high school in nearby Dedham, Massachusetts.[66]

School officials eventually discovered the real reason Pattee had abandoned his summer employer. During the summer he made love with Rachel Somers (Oneida), a young Hampton student who also spent her summer working in Massachusetts. News of the pair's relations surfaced only after Somers returned home and discovered that she was pregnant.[67] After learning of the incident, Hampton's faculty confronted Pattee with the allegations. Initially, he denied everything. But eventually he confessed to Somer's allegations and informed school officials that he had coerced the young Oneida pupil into having sexual relations with him. Pattee also conceded that the pair spent the night together in a small hotel where they registered as Mr. & Mrs. Fred Pattee. "All I can hope for the present," he wrote, "is that God will forgive me and help me to make good."[68] The couple planned to marry, but Somer's mother

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[66]Fred Pattee, Amherst, MA, June 12, 1911, to CWA; Fred Pattee, Amherst, MA, June 20, 1911, to CWA; Fred Pattee, Amherst, MA, July 20, 1911, letters in Pattee's SF, HUA.

[67]Rachel Somers, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA; F.H. Abbott, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, DC, October 30, 1911, to HBF, Hampton Institute, in Indian Affairs Department of the Interior Office of Indian Affairs, Letters to HBF, Box 1, "A-K File," HUA; Winifred, Dedham, MA, October 23, 1911, to CWA, in Fred Pattee's SF, HUA.

[68]"My Darling Rachel," October 11, 1911, copy of letter to Rachel Somers in Fred Pattee's SF, HUA.

quickly put a stop to any wedding plans because "she thinks he has ruined my name."[69]

Sally Crowe (Eastern Band Cherokee) also became pregnant during her summer outing. Her employer, Mrs. Barnes, told Josephine Richards, an instructor at Hampton, the grim news. Mrs. Barnes assured the startled teacher that no member of her family was involved in the illicit affair and commented that such an event was to be expected considering the fact that the Hampton student had been staying out late each night.[70]

Sally Crowe and Rachel Somers's misfortune led to greater oversight of students' activities during the summer. Nancy Clara Bailey (Seneca) worked for the Leavitt family of Newport, Rhode Island, in 1900. Hampton officials expelled her in December 1900 after Bailey's employers reported that she was untruthful and "kept company with bad men."[71] Concerned faculty members were undoubtedly attempting to prevent a recurrence of what happened to Sally Crowe and Rachel Somers. If students would not obey the rules, they

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[69]Rachel Somers, West DePere, WI, October 17, 1911, to CMF, HI, in SF, HUA.

[70]Mrs. E.F. Barnes, Housatonic, MA, April 9, 1898, to Josephine Richards, HI; Mrs. E. F. Barnes, Housatonic, MA, May 6, 1898, to Josephine Richards, HI, the letters are in Sally Crowe's SF, HUA. In her second letter Mrs. Barnes identified William Comstock, a family employee, as the culprit.

[71]Nancy Clara Bailey, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA; Mrs. A. Leavitt, Newport, RI, October 15, 1900, to F.C. Briggs, HI, SF, HUA.

were immediately dismissed from Hampton. This would only happen, however, if host families reported such escapades. Clever students found ways to bypass the restrictions and remained untouched. School officials, meanwhile, remained blissfully ignorant of any sexual activity taking place among the outing program's participants.[72]

Oliver Thompson (Tuscarora) also engaged in "criminal relations" during his summer outing. Hampton officials learned of the Tuscarora student's transgression only when his summer employer informed school authorities that he "outraged the little colored girl who lives with us three times and frightened her into keeping still by telling her he would beat her." Hampton administrators were shocked to learn of the alleged rape. Allen Washington, the school's acting secretary, immediately wrote the Hampton pupil to inform him that Mrs. Scoville had reported that he had "improper relations" with someone in the family's employ. Washington also informed Thompson that the faculty had voted to expel him for "grossly immoral" conduct.[73]

Sexual activity during the summer was also discovered when some students returned to Hampton with sexually transmitted diseases. John Gokey (Chippewa) was expelled from the school after Hampton's physician discovered he had

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[72]Two other female students, Eva Cox (Omaha) and Grace Jamison (Cayuga) became pregnant while working in the North.

[73]S.J. Scoville, Plainville, CT, August 4, 1916, to CWA, HI, in Oliver Thompson's SF, HUA.

acquired venereal disease while in the North. Frissell informed William Light, the Superintendent of the La Pointe Agency in Wisconsin, that "John has done well here at Hampton, and we thought him one of the boys who could be trusted." Recently, however, "it was found that he was suffering from venereal disease in a severe form." After investigating the matter thoroughly, school officials learned that Gokey contracted the disease during his summer outing in Amherst, Massachusetts. When confronted, Gokey confessed that he met a girl during the summer and frequently engaged in "criminal relations" with her. After nearly three months of treatment for the disease, Gokey returned to Wisconsin.[74]

The outing program represented one of the most important components of the native pupils' educational experience at Hampton. Summers spent with rural New England families became a key ingredient of the grand design to transform them into intelligent, self-supporting American citizens. To succeed, an intimate association between Indians and New England farm families was necessary. Separated from their friends and families, Indian students would have no alternative but to abandon their native tongue and begin to master English, thus tearing down one cultural barrier to assimilation.

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[74]HBF, HI, to Supt. William A. Light, Hayward, WI, January 4, 1911 [copy], in Gokey's SF, HUA.

Hampton's outing system, however, did not always work out as planned. Some natives embraced the opportunity to head north each summer. They valued the skills to be learned while in New England and seized the chance to better prepare themselves for life after Hampton. But other students rejected the outing system entirely. Dissatisfied Indian participants deemed the program culturally irrelevant. Some unhappy students disliked the loneliness, abusive treatment at the hands of ungrateful employers, or the drudgery of the work. Ultimately, Indian pupils had their own agenda for the summer. Student workers typically enjoyed their summer outing experience if it fulfilled their individual needs. If the work-study program did not satisfy the Indian laborers, they rebelled, ran away, or rejected the lessons learned during their New England sojourns.

Chapter VII

Planting the "Seeds of Civilization": Hampton's Family Program

Charles Freeland, Hampton Institute's Commandant, did his best to convince skeptical Omaha parents to send their children east to receive a boarding school education. His 1882 summer trip to Nebraska, however, did not go entirely as planned. Alice Fletcher, an anthropologist assigned to allot Omaha lands, approached Freeland during his stay and suggested that he allow two married Indian couples, whom she would personally select, to accompany the Nebraska party to Hampton. Uncertain whether Principal Armstrong would approve of Fletcher's radical suggestion, Freeland promised her he would look into the matter.

Fletcher's proposal to educate native couples intrigued Armstrong. Although initially hesitant, he later supported Fletcher's recommendation after she promised to assume responsibility for the students' traveling expenses. She also pledged to help Hampton authorities secure official sanction for the family program. Persuaded by the force of Fletcher's lobbying, Armstrong launched still another

educational experiment in 1882 when two Omaha couples, Philip and Minnie Stabler (accompanied by their son Eddie) and Noah and Lucy LaFlesche became the first of twenty-three American Indian couples to attend Hampton.[1]

Fletcher, a strong supporter of Hampton's educational agenda, convinced government officials to support the school's innovative program for American Indian families. She contended that educating Indian spouses in a school atmosphere would insure their success after leaving Hampton. Armstrong then promised Hiram Price, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, that he would strive to turn out educated Indians capable of self-support and mutual advancement. Both reformers argued that participants in the school's

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[1]Hiram Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., July 29, 1882, to SCA, Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Armstrong Box, "H. Price to SCA File," HUA; SCA, RCIA (1883), in House Executive Document no. 1, 48th Cong., 1st sess., serial 2191, 172; SW 11 (October 1882), 101; SW 13 (March 1884), 32; SW 16 (November 1887), 108; Twenty-Two Years' Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Va. (Hampton, 1893), 388; Donal Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923 (Urbana, IL, 1995), 198. Lindsey counts only 22 Indian families at Hampton and contends that Hampton stopped enrolling native American families "around 1890." He is mistaken on both counts. Hampton admitted 23 Indian families and the school accepted its last married family in 1917. In addition, Lindsey fails to mention the four one-parent families who enrolled at Hampton. Mary Lou Hultgren and Paulette Molin argue that the family program ended by 1894 when a new federal law made it illegal for any pupils over eighteen years of age to receive federal monies. The law did not kill the family program. In fact, adult students continued to enter Hampton on the condition that they work their way through. See Mary Lou Hultgren and Paulette Fairbanks Molin, To Lead and to Serve: American Indian Education at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923 (Virginia Beach, VA, 1989), 39.

family program would return to their reservations worthy of emulation by less educated tribal members.[2]

Armstrong took great pride in Hampton's educational experiment for Indian families. He contended that "the family is the unit of civilization, and the conditions of a pure family are the first things to be created in educated men and women."[3] Hollis Frissell, Hampton's second principal, concurred. He noted that the school's family program sought to "draw these people out from the mass, and, after we have given them good ideas, to send them back so that they may draw the others up."[4] Yet both educators found it difficult to realize their high expectations. Only Indian couples whose skills complemented one another or those who came to Hampton to prepare for specific vocations managed to resist the charms of "savage life" after returning to their reservations.

Evolution of the Family Program

Philip Stabler came to Hampton in 1882 to polish his carpentry skills. He had worked in the Omaha Agency shops

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[2]Alice C. Fletcher, "The Preparation of the Indian for Citizenship," Lend A Hand 9 (1882), 190-98; Fletcher, "Land, Law, Education--The Three Things Needed by the Indian," SW 14 (March 1885), 33 and SW 14 (April 1885), 45; CMF, "Indian Days at Hampton," unpub. mss. (n.d.), HUA, 91-92; Norma Kidd Green, Iron Eye's Family (Lincoln, NB, 1969), 69-70; Hultgren and Molin, To Lead and to Serve, 37-39; Joan Mark, A Stranger in Her Native Land (Lincoln, NB, 1988), 84.

[3]SCA, SW 9 (February 1880), 15.

[4]HBF, Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference (1893), 100.

for two years, but later realized that he needed additional training. "Before I went to Hampton," Stabler recalled, "I worked with my father. I did not work hard then. Sometimes I would be idle for two or three hours a day." The experience stimulated his desire for formal training. Stabler also reported that he needed an education because he "could not figure and did not know arithmetic."[5] Minnie Stabler, Philip's wife, also liked the idea of furthering her own education.[6]

Philip, Minnie, and one-year-old Eddie Stabler arrived at Hampton in August 1882. For the next three years Philip perfected his carpentry skills while Minnie cared for Eddie and enrolled in the Indian Department, eventually advancing to the junior class. Besides her academic studies, Minnie reported, "I keep house myself and cook, wash, iron, sew and scrub." In her spare time, Minnie hosted Sunday evening prayer meetings for Indians in the family's cottage.[7] The conduct of the Stabler family played an important role in

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[5]Philip Stabler, quoted in Twenty-Two Years' Work, 390; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute," in Senate Executive Document no. 31, 52d Cong., 1st sess., serial 2892, 7, 19.

[6]Minnie Stabler, "An Omaha Housekeeper Writes," SW 14 (March 1885), 32.

[7]Minnie Stabler, "An Omaha Housekeeper Writes," SW 14 (March 1885), 32; Minnie and Eddie Stabler, Biography Sheets, in SFs, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 389-91; SW 20 (May 1891), clipping in Philip Stabler's SF; JER, in RCIA (1885), House Executive Document no. 1, 49th Cong., 1st sess., serial 2379, 237.

the expansion of Hampton's educational experiment. Armstrong remarked that "we cannot but feel that in this instance at least, the bringing on of these families has proved a beautiful success."[8]

The Stablers became the first Indian couple to return home when they left Hampton in March 1885, "well fitted for a life of self-support and usefulness." The couple moved in with Philip's parents until they could build a house of their own.[9] The Hampton tradesman worked hard and saved his money, but a tornado destroyed everything he had labored for. In desperation, Stabler looked into borrowing money from the Women's National Indian Association.

Sara Kinney, a leading figure in the Connecticut wing of the association, organized the Home Building and Loan Committee to provide no-interest loans to educated Indian couples who returned to their reservations. Hampton faculty and staff overwhelmingly recommended that Kinney help the Stablers. Their Hampton friends even provided the family

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[8]SCA, "Indians at Hampton," Report of the Principal to the Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1878-[1916], HUA; SCA, "Seventeenth Annual Report of the Principal," SW 14 (June 1885), 64. Noah and Lucy LaFlesche accompanied the Stablers to Hampton in 1882. Lucy, Chief Iron Eye's daughter, wrote that the couple abandoned their Nebraska farm "for the sake of wanting to learn something of the white people." Lucy LaFlesche, January 16, 1883, to "My Dear Friends," letter printed in SW 12 (August 1883), in SF, HUA; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 7, 19.

[9]Philip Stabler, quoted in Twenty-Two Years' Work, 390; SW 14 (April 1885), 44.

with building plans and instructions for a "Connecticut Cottage." Impressed by Hampton's strong support of former pupils, Kinney influenced the Home Building and Loan Committee to lend the Stablers $367.49 to build their own home. In return, the couple promised to repay the interest-free loan within five years.[10]

Helped by his friend Noah LaFlesche, another Hampton alumnus, Stabler erected a two-story frame home on his allotment. The two Omaha students also built barns, sheds, and corn cribs. Their carpentry skills quickly earned them the respect of their Indian and white neighbors. In addition, the fashionable homes with their modern outbuildings served as models for other Omahas. Susan LaFlesche, a Hampton graduate, wrote that she witnessed the

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[10]Philip Stabler, Omaha Agency, NB, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs [Thomas J. Morgan], December 1, 1890, in Folsom Correspondence, "Names File," HUA; Philip Stabler, Omaha Agency, NB, May 1, 1885, to SCA, Armstrong Correspondence, Indian Affairs Box, "S File," HUA; Minnie Stabler, Omaha Agency, NB, May 7, 1885, to Miss Richards, HI, in SF, HUA; Minnie Stabler, Bancroft, NB, January 9, 1887, to CMF, HI, in Folsom, "Correspondence Received -- 1887," HUA; "Home Building," SW 16 (March 1887), 32-33; SW 23 (November 1894), clipping in Minnie's SF; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 388; "The Omaha Tornado," SW 14 (July 1885), 82; "Women's National Indian Association," SW 15 (March 1886), 31; Valerie Sherer Mathes, "Nineteenth Century Women and Reform: The Women's National Indian Association," American Indian Quarterly 14 (Winter 1990), 1-18; Helen M. Wanken, "Woman's Sphere and Indian Reform: The Women's National Indian Association, 1878-1901," (Ph.D. dissertation, Marquette University, 1981), 153-181. Mary Lucinda Bonney established the Women's National Indian Association in April 1879 to mobilize public support for Indian education and campaign for the fair treatment of Indians.

good work that the cottages generated on the reservation: "It has acted as a stimulus and awakened many to the fact that it is time that they 'go and do likewise,' and so I think the little wave that has started will be productive of much good to my people."[11]

After returning home in 1886, Noah LaFlesche became the second Hampton alumnus to borrow money from the Women's National Indian Association. Using a $500 interest-free loan supplied by the Washington, D.C., and Wilmington, Delaware, chapters, Noah built "The Union Cottage," a Victorian-style house.[12] Caroline Andrus reported that Noah had "one of the prettiest and most comfortable looking houses on the Omaha Reservation." Though he retained his allotment, he employed a white farmer to do all the work. Lucy, on the other hand, put her academic training to good use when she opened a night school for young men in her home. Andrus also mentioned that although the LaFleches had no children, they always made "room for one more" in their

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[11]"Returned Students: 1891 Report," in Philip Stabler's SF, HUA; Susan LaFlesche, "An Indian Home Building," SW 18 (September 1889), clipping in Lucy LaFlesche's SF, HUA; Susan LaFlesche, Philadelphia, PA, December 19, 1887, to HBF, HI, in Susan's SF, HUA.

[12]Lucy and Noah LaFlesche, Biography Sheets, in SFs, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 388-89, 241; "Record of Returned Indians," 115, HUA; A.C.F. [Alice Fletcher], "Returned Hampton Students at Housekeeping," SW 16 (May 1887), 60; "Home Building," SW 16 (March 1887), 32-33; Green, Iron Eye's Family, 165-68, 171-75.

home. Noah later became active in Omaha politics, and tribal members frequently solicited his counsel.[13]

Building their own homes made Stabler and LaFlesche national celebrities. The apparent success of Hampton's family program also increased public interest in the historically-black school and generated additional donations reserved exclusively for native Americans. Armstrong enjoyed the spotlight. The publicity also encouraged him to recruit more Indian families.[14] Armstrong believed that the school's innovative program would prepare a select group of native couples to become models worthy of emulation by other tribal members. He also recognized that acculturated Indians like the LaFlesches and Stablers were media darlings. They helped school officials tap important sources of revenue.

Reflecting on the achievement of Hampton's Indian families, Frissell proclaimed that "the thought which has prevailed at Hampton is that of doing missionary work, not merely collecting these students from their homes, but of training them, so that they should go back to their homes,

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[13]CWA, 1912 Trip, notes in Noah LaFlesche's SF, HUA; Lucy LaFlesche, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA; SW 16 (November 1887) and "Record of Hampton Returned Students," Wallace Springer's September 1906 comments, both are in Noah's SF, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 388-89, 241; "Record of Returned Indians," 115, HUA; Green, Iron Eye's Family, 171-75.

[14]New England Magazine (June 1892); Indian Bulletin (March 1893), both clippings are in Philip Stabler's SF, HUA.

and become centers of light and civilization and Christianity." Married couples like the LaFlesches and Stablers lived up to Frissell's high expectations. "The wives of these young men, who had also been at Hampton," he noted, "fitted up the interior of those houses, and showed the people how they could live." Frissell also reported that as a result "a large number have come out from the old life of barbarism, and have come into the new life, and have settled down among those young people and have homes of their own."[15]

The initial success of Hampton's family program led to the admission of other Indian families. Philip and Kate Counsellor, a Lower Brulè Sioux couple, brought their son Charlie to Hampton in December 1882. They headed east after Philip informed a recruiter that he would like to attend Hampton, but had family obligations. Upon hearing the news, the resident missionary arranged to send the Counsellors to Hampton.[16] Philip reported that he became interested in the school after watching the progress of Hampton alumni at the Lower Brulè Agency. "I am at home and see those Hampton

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[15]HBF, Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference (1893), 100; HBF, "A Visit to the Omahas," SW 16 (November 1887), 117-118.

[16]SW 12 (February 1883), 19; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 7, 20.

boys," he recalled, "and [it] seemed to me they learned many things at Hampton, and I will come and learn them too."[17]

Unlike the two native couples who preceded them, the Counsellors had difficulty adjusting to boarding school life. The transition proved difficult for Kate who "has not been [to] much if any at school, and cannot read or write, or speak English." Instead of attending academic classes, Kate devoted her energies to learning household skills while Philip spent his days alternating between the Indian class and vocational training. Philip pursued carpentry after leaving Hampton and later became a catechist at the Lower Brulè Agency. School officials boasted that "both have been leaders and helpers in everything good and progressive, winning the respect of everybody who knew them."[18]

The program's growth prompted Armstrong to build two model homes on campus for Indian families.[19] One faculty

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[17]Philip Counsellor quoted by SCA, in The Indian Question (Hampton, 1883), 31-32.

[18]Kate, Philip, and Charlie Counsellor, Biography Sheets, in SFs, HUA; SW 12 (February 1883), in Kate's SF, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 394; "Record of Returned Indians," 120, HUA. Donal Lindsey (Indians at Hampton, n. 4, 236) mistakenly asserts that the Counsellor's became Hampton's first Indian family.

[19]SCA, in RCIA (1883), serial 2191, 172; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 388; JER, "Our Indian House Warming," SW 13 (April 1884), 43; "Incidents of Indian Life at Hampton," SW 11 (October 1882), 101; "Home Building," SW 16 (March 1887), 32-33. The money used to build the first two cottages at Hampton was raised by Susette LaFlesche (Omaha). Ironically, Susette would later oppose sending Omaha pupils away to eastern boarding schools.

member commented that the family cottages "put a pleasant picture of domestic life before our young men and young women." Teachers also hoped that the married families would "prove an 'object lesson' in home-making, not only to those who live in them, but to all who live within the circle of their influence."[20] Armstrong reported that the school's "Indian Reservation," furnished an effective object lesson "into true homekeeping" and demonstrated how a comfortable house could be put up at small expense.[21]

The willingness of pious humanitarians to donate money to assist in the training of Indian families played an important role in the expansion of the school's family program. Again, Hampton authorities could thank Alice Fletcher. Her exhibit at the 1885 New Orleans Exposition captured the interest of the city's Episcopal ministers who pledged to raise money to build four additional dwellings at Hampton. Churchgoers also pledged to pay the tuition of the native families who lived in them. The Anglican benefactors

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[20]SCA, in RCIA (1886), House Executive Document no. 1, 49th Cong., 2d sess., serial 2467, 27; SCA in RCIA (1887), House Executive Document no. 1, 50th Cong., 1st sess., serial 2542, 343-44.

[21]SCA, in RCIA (1884), House Executive Document no. 1, 48th Cong., 2d sess., serial 2287, 197; "Indians at Hampton," Report of the Principal to Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1878 - [1916], 7-8, HUA.

asked only that the Indians come from Episcopalian agencies and, if possible, be Christians.[22]

Once the donations began pouring in, Armstrong arranged for Hampton's Indian trade students to construct a series of small cottages behind the Winona Lodge, the Indian girls' dormitory, to accommodate the influx of thirteen native couples during the 1885 academic year. Basking in the light of Fletcher's accomplishment, Armstrong informed the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that "there is every encouragement to educate families in this way." He noted that the innovative program taught Indian families "the lessons of actual life." More important, spouses advanced together and would support each other after returning home. "This is the seed of civilization," wrote Armstrong; "it should be sown broadcast, and is worthy of attention from the government."[23]

Hampton's family program now served two purposes. Educators hoped to educate married couples while simultaneously promoting the transition from a traditional way of life to an idealized version of Euro-American home life. Armstrong noted that

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[22]Alice Fletcher, "The New Orleans Exposition," SW 14 (July 1885), 79; Fletcher, "The Indian Bureau at the New Orleans Exposition," Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (J.D.C. Atkins), May 6, 1885 (Carlisle, PA, 1885); SW 14 (May 1885), 49; Mark, A Stranger in Her Native Land, 109.

[23]SCA, in RCIA (1885), serial 2379, 236-37; CMF, "Indian Days at Hampton," 91, HUA.

> This family life must add to the care, and anxiety and expense of the school routine, yet it has its bright side as well, and we believe teaches many lessons. Two of the cottages particularly are kept neat as wax, and are truly object lessons to all who enter them, whether they are skeptical tourists, who fancy it an impossibility for Indians to be tidy, or other scholars who contrast these homes with very different log cabins and tipis to be found on a Western Reserve.[24]

Though Armstrong intended to enlarge the school's family program, he also established standards for admission. Josephine Richards, a teacher in the Indian Department at Hampton, believed that "in bringing married couple[s] from the West it seems very desirable that one at least should already have some training and education." Richards continued: "If neither the husband nor the wife understand English, or the ways of civilization, it is extremely difficult to make their Hampton life what it should be, cut off, as they are in great measure, by living in a cottage, from the hourly supervision which can be given in Winona or the Wigwam."[25]

Hampton's course of study for married couples emphasized practical skills. Indian men typically studied a variety of manual trades and attended classes in the Indian Department. Female students attended four afternoon

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[24]SCA, "Indians at Hampton," Report of the Principal to the Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1878-[1916], 10; SCA, in RCIA (1888), House Executive Document, no. 1, 50th Cong., 2d sess., serial 2637, 279-80.

[25]JER, in RCIA (1889), House Executive Document no. 1, 51st Cong., 1st sess., serial 2725, 369-70.

sessions each week where they received instructions on how to cook and clean using the same utensils they would find upon returning home. "The whole spirit of the thing," noted Josephine Richards, "was wondrously suggestive of a little bit of home set down in the midst of a great school."[26]

To reinforce the educators' idealistic version of a proper home, the family cottages were routinely inspected for cleanliness. Only the most advanced married women, like Lucy LaFlesche, a 1886 Hampton graduate, pursued formal academic training in Hampton's Normal School. Most Indian participants struggled to master rudimentary English skills, acquire a specific trade, or better prepare themselves for their chosen vocations.[27]

Twice, Indian families put their new skills to the test by participating in Hampton's summer outing program. One couple, Henry and Lucy Little Eagle (Crow Creek Sioux) spent the summer of 1887 working in Monterey, Massachusetts. School officials believed the experience would introduce the

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[26]CMF, "Indian Days at Hampton," 94-95; JER, "The Training of the Indian Girl as the Uplifter of the Home," Journal of the Proceedings and Addresses, Thirty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the National Educational Association, Charleston, SC, July 7-13, 1900, 703; RCIA (1883), serial 2192, xxxiv, 172.

[27]HWL, Ten Years' Work for Indians at Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia (Hampton, 1888), 35-36; Paulette Fairbanks Molin, "To Lead and to Serve," Conference Tape, courtesy of Mary Lou Hultgren, Hampton University Museum Curator; Margaret Rosten Muir, "Indian Education at Hampton Institute and Federal Indian Policy: Solutions to the Indian Problem," (Master's Thesis, Brown University, 1970), 39.

Little Eagles to "civilized home life." Lucy would learn firsthand how to maintain a proper Christian home, while Henry could perfect his vocational and agricultural skills during the summer. Another Indian couple, John and Cora Bear, spent the summer of 1889 living with, and working for, the Townsend family of Monterey.[28]

School authorities fashioned the curriculum for the families with specific goals in mind. "The husband and wife advance together with common interests," Armstrong exclaimed. "A home will be established on their return to the reservation, and their future will be comparatively secure." Hampton educators also hoped to transform what they perceived as the husbands' lack of respect for their spouses. After becoming more acquainted with American Indian families, Armstrong praised "the increase of courtesy in the brave for his wife and the growing care of the mother for her child, and the effort she makes to keep her husband's possessions, her room, and her baby, and last of all herself, clean and tidy."[29]

Hampton officials actively recruited families with young children. Fifteen Indian couples and four one-parent families brought children with them to Hampton (or already had children present when they came east). One Hampton

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[28]Lucy and Henry Little Eagle, Biography Sheets, in SFs; John and Cora Bear, Biography Sheets, SFs, HUA; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 11, 18, 28.

[29]SCA, in RCIA (1883), serial 2191, 172.

faculty member remarked that "we have found our babies [to be] great educators. It is a beautiful thing to watch the mother's care grow more civilized, the father's affection more demonstrative; to see the baby's influence extend itself among the boys and girls in many pretty, softening ways, and even bring a gentler look to a teacher's face, if that be possible."[30]

The presence of Indian preschoolers resulted in the integration of an all-black kindergarten class at the Butler School.[31] By 1885, four native children attended classes with some 300 black children. "At first the Indian and colored children stood much in awe of each other," remarked a teacher. Many young black students apparently gazed at the newcomers in amazement, presumably because none of them had ever encountered Indians before. "Now that the novelty has worn off a little," continued the instructor, "the influence of the little 'darkies' seems to be very good, and there is none of the usual backwardness or shyness noticeable on the part of the Indians."[32]

Blanche Finley, a kindergarten teacher at Hampton, commented that "our kindergarten might be correctly called an awakening school, for much that is gained from the home

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[30]SW 14 (January 1885), 8.

[31]To Lead and to Serve, 39.

[32]"Indian Babies at the Butler," SW 14 (January 1885), 8.

life by the child of the developed races is missed by a great majority of the Indian children." She also noted that the childrens' training attempted, as much as possible, to imitate the type of instruction youngsters would receive in "well-ordered" homes. Instructors especially wanted their little charges to find pleasure in work. As a result, students learned how to care for themselves by playing with dolls, who had to be frequently washed and dressed, and whose homes and beds demanded regular care. The children used miniature wash tubs and boards to clean their dolls' clothes and bedding. After the clothes had dried, students then learned how to iron, fold, and place the items in a trunk made for them by the older students. "The aim is not for infant prodigies in the art of laundry work," remarked Finley, "but the cultivation of a work spirit in the most unrestrained happy way." As they progressed, young scholars mastered basic housekeeping chores, tended to small garden plots, and learned rudimentary sewing and carpentry skills. The purpose of such training sought to give native pupils "a fair start in accuracy, responsibility, and ideas."[33]

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[33]Blanche Finley, "Kindergarten Work Among the Indians," Journal of the Proceedings and Addresses, Thirty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the National Educational Association, Charleston, SC, July 7-13, 1900 (NEA, 1900), 705-706; HBF, "President's Address--Learning By Doing," Journal of the Proceedings and Addresses, Fortieth Annual Meeting of the National Educational Association, Detroit, MI, July 8-12, 1901, (NEA, 1901), 893.

Besides teaching native couples skills that would help them become "centers of light and civilization" among their own people, faculty members also hoped to strengthen the marital bonds uniting husbands and wives. Only strong marriages, reasoned educators, could endure the trials and tribulations of reservation life. Ironically, however, school officials often had to intercede to resolve marital disputes. One spouse, Julia Bear Bird, accused her husband, Baptiste, of "neglect & unkind treatment & of turning her out of the house." After discussing the matter with faculty advisors, the couple reunited when Baptiste promised to treat Julia better.[34] Josephine Richards recalled that "the course of true love does not always run smooth with our Hiawathas and Minnehahas . . . but on the whole Hampton's experiment with married families is full of encouragement and cheer."[35]

Richards must have had the Leverings in mind when discussing the turbulent state of marital relations at Hampton. Milton and Nancy Levering, an Omaha couple, arrived at Hampton in August 1884. School officials noted that the pair was "a most strikingly ill-mated couple." Tragically, the Leverings' Hampton experience, instead of strengthening their marriage, drove them farther apart.

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[34]CMF, "Indian Days at Hampton," 91-93, HUA; "Discipline Book 1884-85", December 12, 1884, HUA.

[35]JER, in RCIA (1885), serial 2379, 237.

When they returned home in July 1887, Milton promptly eloped with another woman and joined a traveling show. Nancy, in turn, sued her wayward husband for divorce.[36] Ellen (Asanknwin) and Joseph Ellis, a Lower Brulè Sioux couple, encountered similar troubles while at Hampton. Their unstable marriage could not withstand the strain of boarding school life. Instructors noted that Joseph was "unsympathetic and overbearing." One teacher later reported that "they were a painfully mismatched couple, and she so delicate that a speedy return was thought best." The couple left Hampton after only a three-month stay. Not surprisingly, Ellen left Joseph immediately upon her return home and the two divorced a short time later.[37]

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[36]Nancy and Milton Levering, Biography Sheets, SFs, HUA; Nancy Levering, Omaha Mission, NB, November 23, 1888, to Miss Richards, HI, in SF, HUA; Milton Levering, Saginaw, MI, to SCA, 1888, in SF, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 416-17; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 9, 22.

[37]Twenty-Two Years' Work, 435; Ellen and Joseph Ellis, Biography Sheets, in SFs, HUA; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 10, 24. John and Irene Highbird, a Cheyenne River Sioux couple, frequently quarreled during their Hampton stay. They separated upon returning home. See Twenty-Two Years' Work, 484; Biography Sheets, SFs, HUA; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 12, 30. One student, James Paypay (Cheyenne River Sioux), had an extra-marital affair during his Hampton stay. See James, Antoinette, Fred, and Harrison Paypay, Biography Sheets, in SFs, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 457; T&T (November 1887), SW 16 (December 1887), and SW 16 (January 1887), clippings in Antoinette's SF, HUA; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 11, 28.

Indian families enrolled in Hampton for a variety of reasons. Some native couples traveled east to receive training that would help them secure better-paying agency jobs. Still others enrolled in the school so their less-educated spouses could receive the same advantages that they had previously experienced. For a handful of arrivals, especially widows, Hampton served as a temporary place of refuge following a family crisis.

Some married students entered Hampton to prepare themselves for the ministry. Edwin Phelps brought his wife, Emma, and three children (Matteos, Gideon, and Ella) to Hampton to prepare himself for the ministry. Edwin, who began his missionary career in 1866, had worked with Mary Collins, a missionary and educator at Standing Rock Agency, since 1875. During that time, Edwin had developed a reputation as a preacher. His mother, Elizabeth Winyan, the daughter of Chief Istahba (Sleepy Eye), and an early Sioux convert to Christianity, encouraged her son to pursue the ministry.[38]

Edwin initially came to Hampton to teach Sioux pupils. One instructor reported that "Mr. Phelps comes as a helper in our Indian work and not as a student." Armstrong soon learned, however, that Edwin arrived better qualified as a

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[38]"Elizabeth Winyan," by Mary Louisa Irvine, Riggs Family Papers, Native Preachers, Teachers, and Helpers Box, Center for Western Studies, Augustana College, Sioux Falls, SD; Edwin, Gideon, and Matteos Phelps, Biography Sheets, in SFs, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 457.

pupil than as an instructor. Rather than return home, the Phelps wanted their own training to serve as an object lesson to the younger students attending the school.[39]

Edwin returned to Standing Rock Agency in June 1887 and again found work helping Mary Collins at her school. Although unable to speak English, he instructed the children in Lakota. One observer wrote that "I found that the children--not an English speaking child among them--could read and write in their own language."[40] Ellen Phelps also entered the mission field. One white benefactor commented that "Mrs. Ellen Phelps was very much like her mother-in-law, Elizabeth Winyan, in character and ability . . . Like Elizabeth she spoke no English but taught the people the

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[39]Edwin and Ellen Phelps, Biography Sheets, in SFs, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 456-57; SW 16 (January 1887), 8; SCA, in RCIA (1887), serial 2542, 343-44; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 11, 28. The couple's fourth child, Obed, was born and later died at Hampton on March 21, 1887.

[40]Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference (1888), 75-76; SW 26 (January 1897), clipping in Edwin's SF, HUA. Edwin later served as a deacon in a native church at the Cheyenne River reservation and eventually became an ordained minister. In 1906 he served as pastor of a Congregational Church at Cherry Creek, South Dakota. See Forest City Press, May 31, 1906; Reverend Phelps, Cherry Creek, SD, February 1, 1907, to CMF, HI, in SF, HUA; Thomas L. Riggs, "Sunset to Sunset, A Lifetime with My Brothers the Sioux," South Dakota Historical Collections 29 (1958), 188-89, 283; CMF, "Letterbook," (1895), 138, HUA; George Reed, Fort Yates, ND, January 24, 1900, to Dear Mr. Riggs, in George W. Reed (Standing Rock Agency) to T.L. Riggs, 1898-1913 File, Thomas L. Riggs Papers, Center for Western Studies, Augustana College, Sioux Falls, SD.

Bible in Dakota and ministered to them and helped them in every way."[41]

Other Indians, like James and Minnie Hamilton (Omahas), came to Hampton to acquire additional training. James asked to enter Hampton because "my wife could talk English but I could not so her English did not do me any good so I made up my mind to come here to this school for three years."[42] Though he enjoyed the family's accommodations at the school, James only had one complaint to make. "Everytime anybody dies they put them into one of the cottages [and] we do not like that very much. I think there is plenty of other buildings that they could be put into."[43] The Hamiltons left Hampton with their infant son Frank in 1888. Later that fall, James returned to Hampton to apply for a loan from Sara Kinney's Home Building and Loan Committee. The Women's National Indian Association quickly approved Hamilton's application and he built a two-story frame cottage on his farm near Bancroft, Nebraska. Thomas Sloan,

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[41]"Mrs. Ellen Phelps," and "Tate-Ohna-Mani-Win (She Walks with the Wind)," by M. C. [Mary Collins], both are in "Native Preachers, Teachers, and Helpers," Mary Louisa Irvine Papers, Center for Western Studies, Augustana College, Sioux Falls, SD.

[42]James Hamilton, to SCA, letter dated January 18, 1888, in SF, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 430-31; James, Minnie, and Frank Hamilton, Biography Sheets, in SFs, HUA; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 10, 24; SW 15 (October 1886), 106.

[43]James Hamilton, letter to General Armstrong, January 18, 1888, in SF, HUA.

a Hampton graduate, later commented that the Hamilton home was one of the nicest on the Omaha Reservation."

Some Indian men came to Hampton because their wives were better educated than they were. George Miller brought his wife, Mary Sansouci Miller, the daughter of the Omaha interpreter, and two sons (three-year-old Eddie and one-year-old John) to Hampton in July 1887. Mary, who spoke English fluently, enrolled in Hampton's academic program. George, who was not as literate as his better-educated wife, wanted to improve his carpentry and farming skills. "Before I went to Hampton," he remarked, "although I worked my farm, it seemed to me I did not know anything at all, and it was same as though I were blind." To prepare himself for the future, George brought his wife and children to Hampton. He later encouraged others to do the same. "I talk to my relations and friends, and tell them to send their children off to school. I tell them all I have seen in the East and how the people live there."[43]

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[42]Thomas Sloan, comment of April 1908, written on Minnie Hamilton's Biography Sheet, SF, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 431. The Hamilton home was pictured in the June 1912 issue of Red Man, Carlisle's student paper, clipping in Minnie's SF, HUA.

[43]George Miller, extract of letter to General Thomas Jefferson Morgan, June 5, 1890, transcribed by Susan LaFlesche, SW 20 (March 1891), clipping in SF; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 465; George, John, and Eddie Miller, Biography Sheets, in SFs, HUA; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 28.

The Millers enjoyed Hampton, but left the school in 1888 when Mary's health deteriorated following the birth of their daughter, Alice. Apparently George learned the skills he came east for. Besides honing his carpentry skills, he also learned to read and write. In fact, he mastered enough English to later transcribe ethnographic materials relating to the Omaha Thunder Clan for the Smithsonian Institution.[46]

Some participants in Hampton's family program had previously attended the school. Baptiste Bear Bird (Lower Brulè Sioux), Chief Bear Bird's son, came to Hampton for the first time in October 1881. He returned home in May 1884 and married Julia a short time later. Feeling that his young bride needed formal training, Baptiste returned to Hampton after the wedding.[47] Another former student, Frank Pamani (Crow Creek Sioux), asked Armstrong for permission to

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[46]George and Mary Miller, Biography Sheets, in SFs, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 465.

[47]Julia and Baptiste Bear Bird, Biography Sheets, in SFs, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 371, 421; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 9, 17. Unfortunately, the couple's son, Benjamin, was born and later died at the school in 1885. Julia's health rapidly deteriorated following Benjamin's death, prompting the Bear Birds to return home in March 1886. Henry Little Eagle (Crow Creek Sioux) also returned to Hampton with his new bride. Hampton instructors noted that Henry returned to school because he believed that Lucy was "sadly deficient in what her husband considered essential to their future happiness and prosperity." Twenty-Two Years' Work, 370, 458; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," 8, 11; Lucy, Henry, and Martha Little Eagle, Biography Sheets, in student files, HUA; SCA report dated August 20, 1889, in RCIA (1889), serial 2725, 369; SW 16 (July 1887), SW 17 (August 1888), and SW 17 (October 1888), clippings in Lucy's student file, HUA.

bring Celeste, the young woman whom he married according to "Indian fashion," to Hampton.[48] Armstrong later consented to Pamani's request on one condition, that the couple legally marry before heading east. School officials recalled that Frank was ambitious, but frequent illnesses prevented him from doing much more than decorating pottery for a living.[49] They also hoped that additional training would strengthen Frank and prove useful to his young bride. Unfortunately, "Celeste proved too delicate to remain and Pamani too indifferent." Apparently the couple's brief stay did not successfully transform them. Follow-up reports showed that Frank was "devoted to the Indian dance in which he is a leader." To make matters worse, he "discourages church going and encourages old Indian customs."[50]

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[48]Frank Pamani (Hoots-While-Walking), Biography Sheet, SF, HUA; "Record of Returned Indians," 26, HUA; Scholarship letter dated January 27, 1888, HUA; "From Pamani," SW 11 (April 1882), clipping in SF, HUA.

[49]Frank Pamani, "Record of Returned Indians," 26, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 338, 406-407; Celeste Pamani, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA; SW 47 (January 1918), clipping in Celeste's SF, HUA; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 13, 8.

[50]Survey, n.d., in Frank's SF, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 338,406-407; CMF, Letterbook (1895), 121, HUA; Celeste Pamani, Crow Creek Agency, SD, July 9, 1890, to CMF, HI, in Folsom, United States Indian Service File, HUA; CWA, 1909 comments, in Frank's SF, HUA; Celeste Pamani, Biography Sheet, in SF, HUA. John Bear also returned to Hampton a second time with his less-educated bride. See John and Cora Bear, Biography Sheets, in SFs, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 432-33, 479-80; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 11, 23-24, 61, 75, 83. One couple, John Tiaokasin and Rosa Pleets had both attended Hampton twice before returning to the school as newlyweds in October 1887

Forty-one percent of the family program's participants abandoned their studies due to failing health. Hannah and Louis Buck (Crow Creek Sioux) came to Hampton in November 1884 with their two children, Eddie and Eugene. They were "an earnest, industrious and interesting couple--typically Indian." Unfortunately, however, young Eddie became ill during the family's trip east and later died at Hampton in December 1884. Eugene's health also deteriorated during his stay. The strain was too much for Hannah. Not surprisingly, her health broke down a short time later. Desperate Hampton officials returned the family to their western home in February 1885, but to little avail. Hannah and Eugene both died within a year after their return. Other native couples experienced a similar fate.[51]

Indian children were the most vulnerable to disease. Gabriel and Elizabeth Robertson (Sisseton Sioux) had been married only four months before entering Hampton in November 1888. Their son Gamaliel was born at Hampton in April 1889,

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to prepare themselves for missionary work. See John and Rosa Pleets, Biography Sheets, SFs, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 333-34, 384; "Record of Returned Indians," 33, HUA; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 4, 19.

[51]Hannah, Louis, Eddie, and Eugene Buck, Biography Sheets, SFs, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 419-20; "Alphabetical List of Indian Students," 214-215; SW 14 (January 1885), 8; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 9, 23. Susan and Leon DeSheuquette also left Hampton early due to failing health. See Twenty-Two Years' Work, 434; Leon DeSheuquette, Hampton, VA, November 14, 1885, to SCA, letter in Leon's SF, HUA; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 10, 24.

but died one month later. A Hampton employee noted that "while they were here they lived in one of the cottages devoted to such couples, but did not prove promising or strong, and were returned."[52] In a letter to the Rev. J.J. Gravatt, the spiritual advisor to Anglican students at Hampton, Gabriel mentioned that he liked Hampton, but his wife was ill "because she don't like to eat as the others." Gabriel also noted that he also did not like to eat with the others because "we never eat like that food." He then concluded by commenting that "if we don't get our provisions, well, we like to step towards our country." Robertson's remarks prompted action. Already fending off Thomas Childs's accusations, Armstrong carried out measures to improve the quality of food at Hampton. He also hired nurses to develop special diets for ailing pupils. Unfortunately for the Robertsons, the changes came too late.[53]

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[52]Elizabeth Robertson, Biography Sheet, in SF, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 479; "Alphabetical List of Indian Students," 214-25, HUA; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 11, 30. Six Indian children (all Sioux) whose parents participated in the family program died at Hampton.

[53]Gabriel Robertson, November 28, 1888, to Mr. Gravatt, HI, in SF, HUA. Adult Indians also became ill during their stay. Stella and Irish Leming, an Omaha couple, came to Hampton in July 1885 (their daughter, Isabel Eustis Leming, was born at Hampton in April 1886). Both Stella and Irish battled consumption during their stay. Hampton authorities blamed the couple's fate on the fact that "Irish had been traveling with a show, and was wild and broken down." Tragically, both Stella and Irish died within one year of their return home. See Stella and Irish Lemming, Biography

One Indian family, the Fire Clouds, experienced more than their share of tragedy at Hampton. Daniel and Emma Fire Cloud (Crow Creek Sioux) came to the school in 1885 with their two youngest boys, Tommy and Walter. The couple's two eldest sons, Daniel and James, were already attending the school.[54] The Fire Clouds enjoyed Hampton until their fifth son, Armstrong Fire Cloud, was born and later died at Hampton on August 6, 1886. The newborn's death stunned the entire campus. The shocked parents received another blow the following month when another son, Daniel, died from an accidental poisoning on September 3, 1886. When grief-stricken Emma's health deteriorated, Armstrong returned the family to their reservation to save Emma's life. But the effort proved futile. One teacher later commented that Emma "came home an invalid and died soon after." For the Fire Clouds, their Hampton experience contributed to deaths of three family members. Despite the tragedy that befell his loved ones, Daniel never became bitter. In fact, he devoted the remainder of his life to missionary work.[55]

Sheets, SFs, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 431; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 24, 10.

[54]Emma and Daniel Fire Cloud, Biography Sheets, in SFs, HUA; Twenty Two Years' Work, 422; "Wanted A Lift," letter of Major Gassman in SW 14 (March 1885), 36; Daniel Fire Cloud, "Old Indian Ways," T&T 1 (July 1886), 2; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 9, 23.

[55]Emma, Daniel, Armstrong, Daniel, Jr., Fire Cloud, Biography Sheets, in SFs, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 422;

Hampton's family program, ostensibly established in 1882, actually began in November 1878 when Mary Dawson (Stash-ba-du), a twenty-four-year-old Arikara widow, brought her eight-year-old daughter, Anna (Spananadaka), to Hampton. Mary came to Hampton with Pratt's Dakota Territory party because she wanted to have her daughter educated. The decision benefitted both parties. Anna received her education and Hampton officials relied on Mary's skills as a translator and mother figure for other Indians. Mary left Anna in Hampton's care in October 1879 and returned to the Fort Berthold reservation when her health broke down.[56]

Mary Dawson never recovered from her illness. Young Anna remained in the school's custody after her mother's death in March 1880. The bright pupil taught in the school's Indian Department for fifteen months following her 1885 graduation from Hampton until she entered the Framingham State Normal School in 1887. She graduated from the Massachusetts institution in 1889 and secured a teaching

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"Record of the Returned Indians," HUA, 182.

[56]Mary and Anna Dawson, Biography Sheets, in SFs, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 223, 330; "Record of Returned Indians," HUA, 46; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 4; Charles L. Hall, "A.B.C.M.F.M.," 74, in the Charles L. Hall Papers, North Dakota State Historical Society, Bismarck, North Dakota. Other widows brought their children to Hampton. See Louisa and Grace Banks (Omahas), Biography Sheets, SFs, HUA; Lucy and Ida Mitchell (Omahas), Biography Sheets, SFs, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 464; "Little Ida," T&T (November 1890), clipping in Lucy Mitchell's SF, HUA; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 11.

position at the Santee Normal Training School in Nebraska. After a two-year teaching stint, Anna decided to continue her formal academic training at a Y.W.C.A. training school in Boston. Following completion of the course, Anna became a field matron in the government service. She spent seventeen years working to improve sanitary conditions, childcare, dietary habits, and various other aspects of home life among the Arikara, Mandan, and Hidatsa of Fort Berthold.[57]

Not all of the school's one-parent families were composed of mothers and daughters. Antonito Azul (Evening Thunder), the son of Antonio (Soy-e-vit), the head chief of the Pimas and Maricopas, came to Hampton in February 1881 with his son, Harry Azul (Brown Eagle), and two nephews, Charlie Matthews and Enoch Conklin (Savarpks).[58] Chief

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[57]Anna Dawson, Biography Sheet, in SF, HUA; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 46, 223; Ten Years' Work for the Indian, 57-58; Hampton Graduates, 1871-1899 (Hapmton, 1899), 113; What Hampton Graduates Are Doing (Hampton, 1904), 28-29; Some Results of Hampton's Work (Hampton, 1909), 12; Wilbur and Alma Howard, "Anna Dawson Wilde, 1868-1968," biographical sketch included in Wilbur Howard, Alexandria, KY, July 30, 1972, to Eleanor Gilman, Hampton Institute, letter in Anna's SF, HUA. Anna's student file contains numerous articles that document her illustrious career. Those consulted include: Anna Dawson, "What of the Indian Homes of the Future?," SW 24 (July 1895), 116-117; CMF, "The One Strong to Help," SW 26 (August 1897), 154-55; CMF, "The Careers of Three Indian Women," The Congregationalist and Christian World, March 12, 1904, 374-75; "Glimpses of Field Matron Life of a Hampton Graduate and Her Associate," SW 25 (April 1896); "A Field Matron's Work Among the Indians," SW 28 (October 1899).

[58]Antonito Azul, Harry Azul, Enoch Conklin, and Charlie Matthews, Biography Sheets, in SFs, HUA; Twenty-Two Years'

Antonio sent his relatives to Hampton to help the Pimas and Maricopas adjust to changing reservation conditions. General Oliver Otis Howard, the famed one-armed general and former head of the Freedmen's Bureau, recalled a conversation he had with the Pima headman. Howard noted that "he told me that wicked white men had led his young people away and taught them bad ways. He said his people had been on the war-path in the past, but that they loved best to cultivate the land, raise fruits, and be at peace."[59] Howard recalled that the aged chief had encouraged him to take Antonito east. The trip startled the entire delegation and "did much to bind them forever to the interest of this great peace." The Washington visit also convinced Antonio that Pimas and Maricopas needed educated leaders who would be able to deal with the whites on equal terms and protect the interests of their own people.[60]

Thirty-year-old Antonito remained at Hampton for one year. The future Pima chief especially wanted to learn farming techniques during his stay. "He says he and his people try to farm," noted one teacher, "but don't know how." Antonito left his family and friends at Hampton and

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Work, 359-61; "Record of Returned Indians," 66-68, HUA; "Notes on the Returned Indian Students," serial 2892, 16. Enoch Conklin died at Hampton on October 11, 1881.

[59]O.O. Howard, Famous Indian Chiefs I Have Known (New York, Century Co., 1908; reprint ed., Lincoln, 1989), 66.

[60]Howard, Famous Indian Chiefs I Have Known, 69-70.

returned to Arizona in June 1882 with several trunks of articles he intended to introduce among his people.[61] In 1890, a government inspector reported that he encountered Antonito during a visit to the Pima Agency. The official reported that the former Hampton student "wears citizens' clothes, speaks poor English, when he speaks at all in that tongue. Is a farmer, but pursues the methods taught by his father." Harry Azul was described as "a good boy" who "does as his father did in farming."[62]

By 1890, Hampton's pioneering educational experiment for married Indian couples became dormant. Armstrong commented that changing reservation conditions contributed to the family program's demise. "Our belief that a Christian home is the all-important factor in the problem of uplifting any race is firm as ever; yet as such object lessons multiply on the reserves there is not the same

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[61]Sidney Terry, Pima Agency School, May 5, 1882, to Isabel B. Eustis, HI, letter in Antonito's SF, HUA; SW 17 (January 1888), SW 10 (April 1881), and "Origins of Pima Progress," SW 32 (May 1903), 4-6, clippings in Antonito's SF, HUA; What Hampton Graduates Are Doing, 18-19; CMF, "Indian Days at Hampton," 69, HUA. The Pimas knew how to farm, but in 1872 whites dug deep ditches along the Gila River and drew away much of the life-giving water. As a result, the Pimas and Maricopas lost much of their grain, vegetables, and fruit trees.

[62]R.W. Belt, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., December 5, 1890, to SCA, HI, in Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, "Miscellaneous File," Armstrong Box, HUA.

necessity for bringing families to the East."[63] In addition, new legislation during the decade made it harder for adult Indians to receive federal funding. As a result, students had to be willing to work their way through Hampton or school officials had to locate alternate sources of revenue to keep the family program going. Neither option proved workable.[64]

The family program remained dormant until 1917 when George Stabler (Na-he-tish) and Eunice Woodhull Stabler became the school's last Indian couple. Caroline Andrus, a Hampton employee, remarked that Eunice was "probably one of the finest among the young Omaha women, much George's superior in intellect."[65] George had attended the school

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[63]SCA, in RCIA (1890), House Executive Document no. 1, part 5, 51st Cong., 2d sess., serial 2841, 316.

[64]In 1885, government officials decided to withdraw funding for Indian students over the age of twenty-one. The decision affected five of the seven married couples in attendance. See SW 14 (February 1885), 19. The age limit was reduced to age eighteen during in 1893-1894 academic year. See SW 22 (November 1893), 161, 166; HBF, in RCIA (1894), House Executive Document no. 1, 53d Cong., 3d sess., serial 3306, 414-17.

[65]CWA, Western Trip notes (1912), in George's SF, HUA; George Stabler, Biography Sheet, in SF, HUA; George Stabler, HI, February 3, 1918, to "Dear Friends," Scholarship Letter in SF, HUA; Hampton Student (November 1, 1917), Hampton Student (October 15, 1917), and Hampton Student (March 1, 1918), clippings in George's SF, HUA. Holdings at the Nebraska State Historical Society indicate that Eunice was an Omaha. Her father, Spafford Woodhull (Pe-die-enga), was a member of the Indian Police. See Eunice Woodhull Stabler Picture Collection, S775, Microfiche Collection, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, NB. Elizabeth Lieb and Freddie Merrick, the couple's niece and nephew, spent time at Hampton. Hollis Andrus Stabler was born at Hampton in

once before from 1902 until 1904. His brothers, Roy, Guy, and Simeon, had also enrolled at Hampton. It is not surprising that Stabler later returned for additional training, given Andrus's account of an interesting set of events that unfolded after he returned home from Hampton in 1904. Apparently, Stabler had to leave the Omaha reservation to avoid marrying a woman he did not love. Andrus recalled how "the parents of a girl for whom he cared nothing about picked him out as a likely young man for her to marry & left her at George's house." According to tribal custom, the pair would be considered married if, under such circumstances, the two spent the night under the same roof. Realizing this, Stabler "ran away & stayed in the woods for days." When he finally returned from his hiding place, the love-struck woman repeated the courtship process. Finally, Stabler "got discourage[d] & ran away."[66]

Stabler farmed after leaving the school, but decided to return to Hampton with his wife and nephew in 1917. He recalled that "I came here last fall with my family from Nebraska, I have [a] wife and little boy of seven years old, this boy we adopted. I have been out of school for about ten years or more . . . I have followed farming and have farm[ed] some when we were at home. I came to Hampton because I want to learn something better. We have little

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1918.

[66]CWA (1909), comment in George's SF, HUA.

cottage just outside of school ground and we all very happy here." The stay helped Stabler improve his farming and English skills. He also participated in the school's outing program. Instead of going north, however, Stabler spent his summer working in a local post office.[67]

Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Alice Fletcher devised the only off-reservation educational program for native American families. Although formally established in August 1882, Hampton welcomed four one-parent families beginning in November 1878. Educators believed their efforts would prepare husbands and wives to assume leadership positions within their respective tribes. Moreover, educated spouses would reinforce each other's training, thereby reducing the risk of reverting to traditional ways after leaving the school. Hampton officials also hoped that their unique program would plant the seeds of civilization on the reservations. Despite the program's humanitarian impulses, however, Armstrong and his successors also recognized that the family program also increased school revenues, filled empty rooms in the new Winona Lodge, and generated increased public interest in the school.

Hampton's pioneering experiment for native couples faded into oblivion after 1890. The burgeoning number of reservation schools played a role in the program's demise.

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[67]George Stabler, HI, February 3, 1918, to "Dear Friends," Scholarship Letter in SF, HUA; SW 47 (March 1918), clipping in SF, HUA.

An increase in public and private schools on the reservations had greatly diminished the need for off-reservation training for Indian families. Ultimately, Hampton's much-publicized program never lived up to Armstrong's lofty expectations. Forty-one percent of the Indian families left the school early because of failing health. Many of these Indians were never strong enough to benefit from their brief stay at Hampton. Twenty-two percent of the married couples divorced shortly after leaving the school. For these students, the school's program, designed to strengthen the marital bond, convinced five mismatched couples to part company. Though some participants in the family program became teachers and missionaries after leaving Hampton, most of the returned pupils led unspectacular lives. Only one participant, Lucy LaFlesche, even graduated from Hampton.

Chapter VIII

Hampton Chiaroscuro: Fashioning A Biracial Experiment

The steamboat's shrill siren, heralding the midnight arrival of sixty Fort Marion prisoners of war aboard The Hampton, roused Hampton's faculty and students from their sleep. Principal Armstrong, who had arranged an official welcome for the ex-warriors, made sure that Hampton's visitors received a proper reception that chilly April night in 1878. A handful of black students greeted the Indians with coffee as they disembarked and made the long walk down the school's private wharf. The rest of the student body waited to meet their new classmates. Few in attendance that evening could have predicted that Indians and blacks would remain Hampton classmates for the next forty-five years.[1]

Armstrong's biracial experiment had begun, but many Hampton supporters had not endorsed the general's decision to enroll ex-warriors who had been jailed for committing war

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[1]Public Ledger (Norfolk, VA) April 15, 1878, 1; Joseph Illick, "Indian Education at Hampton and Carlisle: 1880," Indian Historian 3 (Summer 1970), 36; HWL, "An Indian Raid on Hampton Institute," SW 7 (May 1878), 36.

atrocities. John W. Cromwell, the black editor of the Virginia Star felt that Armstrong was transforming Hampton into a school for Indian criminals. Some of the school's black faculty feared that Indians would crowd out qualified black scholars. To complicate matters, many white Virginians questioned the efficacy of placing Indians in a black institution. Many of these skeptics supported sending native students to Indian-only boarding schools or educating them with white children so as not to "break the spirit" of the original owners of the soil.[2]

Armstrong ignored Hampton's critics and repeatedly reassured doubters that no race friction of any kind had taken place. "Our colored students, selected as they are from a wide range," he asserted, "furnish the best practicable conditions for building up wild Indians in ideas, decency, and manhood." He also commented that the black pupils represented a "current of English ways" that would guide and assist the newcomers. In Armstrong's

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[2]Donal Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923 (Urbana, IL, 1995), 31-33; Richmond Daily Dispatch, April 9, 1878; Richard B. Sherman, "The 'Teachings at the Hampton Institute': Social Equality, Race Integrity, and the Virginia Public Assemblage Act of 1926," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 95 (July 1987), 275-300. Southern Democrats who passed laws limiting contact among blacks and whites wanted to prevent biracial mingling at Hampton. The heightened racism of the era is discussed in Edward L. Ayers, The Promise of the New South (New York, 1992), 132-159; C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow, 2d rev. ed. (New York, 1966), 70-71; George M. Frederickson, The Black Image in the White Mind (New York, 1971), chap. 9; Joel Williamson, The Crucible of Race (New York, 1984), pt. 2.

opinion, "sending them [Indians] to a Negro school is like putting raw recruits in an old regiment. The examples, ideas, language, etc., at Hampton, are a constant and powerful educating influence; an atmosphere which they breathe."[3] Armstrong later argued that the education of Indians at Hampton also benefitted black students because it taught them that there were grievances other than their own in the world.[4]

Members of Hampton's student body also questioned the wisdom of educating Indian and blacks in the same institution. A handful of black scholars informed Armstrong on the eve of the Fort Marion Indians' arrival that they did not want anything to do with the "blood-thirsty" warriors intending to enroll in the school. Cora Mae Folsom, an instructor at Hampton, recalled how Armstrong "described their bloody deeds, their change of heart, and their great desire for an education." After informing the students of his intention to educate Indians, Armstrong then appealed to the black pupils to help him, just as he assisted them in their time of need after the Civil War. But when the

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[3]SCA, "Indian Education," SW 8 (October 1879), 99; "Annual Report of the Principal," SW 9 (June 1880), 64; SW 7 (October 1878), 73; CMF, "Indian Days at Hampton," unpub. mss, 3,6, HUA; Francis G. Peabody, Education for Life (New York, 1918), 148-49; Reverend Addison P. Foster, "The Growth of Ideas Among Negroes and Indians," SW 9 (November 1880), 116.

[4]SCA, "Annual Report of the Principal," SW 9 (June 1880), 63.

general asked for volunteers willing to take Indians under their personal charge and care for them as older brothers would, no one dared to step forward. "Why is this?," exclaimed a frustrated Armstrong. "Is no one here man enough to do for another race what has so freely been done for his?" At that point, one timid scholar spoke up, "Oh yes, General we want to but we're afraid they might scalp us."[5]

Somewhat reluctantly, Armstrong had learned an important lesson. He now realized that he had to counter the exaggerated fears and prejudices of Hampton's student body if his biracial experiment would endure. He also discovered that other black pupils looked down upon the Fort Marion students who would soon be attending classes at the school because the blacks were free men and women. Moreover, blacks enrolled at Hampton, unlike many native pupils, were also citizens of the United States. In their eyes, the Indian newcomers failed to measure up. Armstrong labored to overcome his students' prejudices. In the process he hoped to create an educational environment at Hampton that promoted racial cooperation and harmony among the student body.[6] Indian students also expressed concerns about interacting with blacks at Hampton. Helen Ludlow, an

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[5]CMF, "Indian Days at Hampton," 2-3.

[6]Margaret Rosten Muir, "Indian Education at Hampton Institute and Federal Indian Policy: Solutions to the Indian Problem," (Master's Thesis, Brown University, 1970), 82.

instructor at the school, recalled how some Fort Marion arrivals considered themselves superior to blacks because, unlike them, they had never been enslaved. In these students' eyes, blacks acquired their freedom because of a legal action, but Indians were free by nature.[7] Booker T. Washington, appointed "house-father" in 1880 to the Indian boys living in the Wigwam, recalled the initial apprehension he felt after accepting Armstrong's offer. "I knew that the average Indian felt himself above the white man, and, of course, far above the Negro, largely on account of the fact of the Negro having submitted to slavery--a thing which the Indian would never do."[8]

Seeking to correct such misguided views, Armstrong called for an assembly following the arrival of the Fort Marion prisoners at the school. Hampton's principal recalled that

> I am asked is there going to be a war of the two races here? Shall we have trouble between these two races brought together here for the first time? I answer No! God has intended good in this, or why has he put into the hearts of so many people to come forward with their money? He has smiled upon this undertaking. There will be no trouble, they will all be friends.[9]

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[7]HWL, ed., Ten Years' Work for Indians at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia (Hampton, 1888), 13.

[8]BTW, Up From Slavery (New York, 1993), 71-72.

[9]SW 7 (May 1878), 36.

Unlike those critical of Hampton's biracial experiment, Armstrong recognized that Indians and blacks could assist one another in the learning process.[10]

Armstrong's unwavering faith in Hampton's biracial experiment carried the day. Acting on Armstrong's orders, teachers fashioned an educational environment designed to help native scholars gradually improve their English skills while also following the example of black pupils who mastered a wide array of manual trades. In short, Armstrong hoped that Indian students would, by their association with blacks, improve their habits, manners, treatment of Indian women, and work ethic. The black student body of the school would, in Helen Ludlow's opinion, exhibit a "pacifying effect" upon the natives.[11] Reflecting on the unique nature of Hampton, Armstrong wrote:

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[10]Donal Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute (Urbana, IL, 1995), 94. Lindsey defines Hampton officials' manipulation of Indians and blacks at the school as "the rhetoric of comparative example." His views are similar to those of internal colonialism. This orientation posits that, in a politically and economically stratified society, the dominant group will force minorities into inferior economic and political roles. See Robert Blauner, Racial Oppression in the United States (New York, 1946) and Michael Hechter, Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966 (Berkeley, 1975). I agree with Lindsey's assertion that previous scholars have ignored the amount of racial interaction underway at Hampton. We sharply disagree, however, about Armstrong's motivations. Lindsey discounted Armstrong's humanitarian leanings and devotes far too much attention to student victimization.

[11]HWL, Ten Years' Work, 13-14; Muir, "Indian Education at Hampton Institute," 84-85.

> We hope that by prudence and tact in their education the races represented at Hampton Institute, who have, so far, mingled most pleasantly, rather as a result of good nature than of principle will attain a higher and common ground of genuine interest in each other's welfare, and so go into their respective fields broader and better men for their intercourse at school.[12]

An initial atmosphere of jealousy soon gave way to a more productive mood of cooperation. Completion of the Wigwam in 1879 relieved overcrowding at the school and facilitated racial harmony. In fact, Armstrong claimed to have witnessed more tension between students from different tribes than racial hostility between Indians and blacks. In 1879, he informed the Superintendent of Public Instruction for Virginia that "there has been no contempt for the negro. A colored non-commissioned officer has more influence over a Dakota Indian than has a Cheyenne of like position. The boys of different tribes don't like to be controlled by each other. I think they can in time be cured of this."[13]

Racial Interaction At Hampton

Although racial interaction at Hampton was "limited and guarded," teachers made sure that blacks served as role models and examples of industry and thrift worthy of emulation by natives. According to Armstrong, "the negro is a help to the Indian as an example, by his habits of study

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[12]SW 8 (March 1879), 27.

[13]SCA, Report of the Principal of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute for the Year Ending July 30, 1879 (Richmond, 1879), 12-13.

and of labor, of obedience, of behavior, of general decency, and by his knowledge of English."[14] Hampton officials deliberately increased racial integration at the school following the arrival of Pratt's Dakota Territory party in November 1878.[15] To help the newcomers "get on faster in English and civilized customs," Armstrong boarded the Indians with black classmates.[16]

The more assimilated Fort Marion students also helped the Dakota Territory party adjust to school life. Booker T. Washington commented how the older students crowded near the rooms of newly arrived pupils to witness the first morning inspection. The curious onlookers giggled and poked fun at the newcomers as Washington corrected the boys for improperly making their beds. One of the neophyte scholars had made his bed, but mistakenly left both the sheets and pillow cases off. Another Indian student insisted on

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[14]SCA, RCIA (1880), serial 1959, 185; David Wallace Adams,"Education in Hues: Red and Black at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923," South Atlantic Quarterly 76 (Spring 1977), 171-76.

[15]SW 7 (October 1878), 73; "General Armstrong and His Indian Pupils," Evening Transcript [Boston], June 25, 1889; HWL, "Captain Pratt's Indian Campaign," SW 7 (December 1878), 91; Mary Lou Hultgren and Paulette Fairbanks Molin, To Lead and to Serve (Virginia Beach, VA, 1989), 19.

[16]RHP, "Report of Lieutenant R.H. Pratt, Special Agent to Collect Indian Youth to be Educated at Hampton Institute, VA.," in RCIA (1878), House Executive Document no. 1, 45th Cong., 3d sess., serial 1850, 669-71; SCA, Twenty-Two Years' Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Va. (Hampton, 1893), 13; SCA, cited in Ten Years' Work, 13; J.J. Gravatt, "Hampton's Early Indian Days," SW 39 (June 1910), 334-36.

covering his pillow with his blanket. Neither pupil swept the floor. Washington later wrote that "I had to turn the joke on the old boys by making them take the new boys for roommates and teach them to keep house." As a result, the more acculturated Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and Dakota Territory pupils began replacing black students as cultural intermediaries.[17] Following completion of the Wigwam (an Indian-only dormitory) in December 1879, biracial living arrangements came to an end. Older, more acculturated Indian students now became big brothers to their less-educated kinsmen.

Indian women also had African-American roommates at Hampton. From 1879 until 1881 Indian pupils lived in a section of Virginia Hall, a dormitory built for black females attending Hampton. After 1881, female Indians spent two years in separate quarters at the Lexington Cottage until the completion of the Winona Lodge, an all-Indian dormitory in 1883.[18] Indian and blacks resided in racially segregated dormitories until 1909, when Elizabeth Hyde, the

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[17]BTW, "Incidents of Indian Life," SW 9 (September 1880), 93; Louis R. Harlan and John W. Blassingame, eds., The Booker T. Washington Papers (Urbana, IL, 1972), 2:83.

[18]SW 10 (February 1881), 15; SW 10 (April 1881), 39; Isabel Eustis, SW 11 (November 1882), 123; Report of the Principal of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute for the Year Ending June 30, 1878 (Richmond, 1878), 10; Ten Years' Work, 31.

Dean of Women, integrated the Winona Lodge to relieve the overcrowding among black women attending Hampton.[19]

Biracial dormitories, however short lived, helped Indian pupils make the transition from reservation to school life. Such racial cooperation also demonstrated that relations between Indians and blacks at Hampton went beyond peaceful co-existence and cultural tolerance.[20] Black scholars instructed their native roommates in the rudiments of "civilized" life. Besides tutoring the Indians in English, blacks demonstrated how to perform the daily chores, with a special emphasis on making their beds and keeping the living quarter clean. One Indian pupil, Edward Ashley (Gray Legs), a Crow Creek Sioux who came to Hampton in November 1878, remarked: "Every morning I make my room . . . Always before breakfast first I work in my room. I sweep floor and then clean table and chairs and looking glass window . . . All the time Saturday I wash my floor and door and window and chair and table because I don't want look ugly my room. I don't want what is wrong because when I go to Dakota territory I wish to teach my relations."[21]

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[19]Elizabeth Hyde, "Report of the Dean of Women, 1909-1910," Hampton's Early Teachers Box, HUA.

[20]SCA, "Indian Education in the East," SW 9 (November 1880), 115; Joseph Willard Tingey, "Indians and Blacks Together: An Experiment in Biracial Education at Hampton Institute," (Ed.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1978), 183; Lindsey, Indians at Hampton, 94-99.

[21]Edward Ashley quoted in CMF, "Indian Days at Hampton," 15a, HUA.

Black students also proved invaluable as interpreters and English teachers. They helped their Indian roommates acquire basic English skills.[22]

The biracial dormitory experiment satisfied Armstrong. He reported in 1879 that Dakota pupils had black roommates who volunteered "to help them acquire our language and habits." Armstrong also contended that "there has sprung up a strong attachment between them, and as yet no hostility." The principal boasted that "the Dakotas are ready to do their full share of cleaning and caring for their rooms; they pick up words, ideas, and habits, and thus get a tutoring to be had in no other way. Success as to contact of the races seems complete." He then asked, "Would students of any white school in this country do as much for these wild Indians?"[23]

Black Hampton employees also commented on the school's biracial living arrangements. Booker T. Washington remarked

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[22]CMF, "Indian Days at Hampton," 15-16, HUA. James Murie (Young Eagle), a Pawnee student who arrived in October 1879, wrote that "colored boys are good to the Indian boys, they teach them how to talk English and read and cipher." J.M. [James Murie], SW 9 (November 1880), 113.

[23]SCA, Report of the Principal for the Year Ending July 30, 1879 (Richmond, VA, 1879), 9-10; HWL, "Indian Education at Hampton and Carlisle," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 62 (April 1881), 662-63. In 1882, Armstrong informed Hiram Price, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, that "there can be nothing better for a wild Indian boy, fresh from the plains, that to room for six months with a good colored student, who will in time do more for his habits, manners, and morals, than all of his teachers." SCA, RCIA (1882), in House Executive Document 1, 47th Cong., 2d sess., serial 2100, 184.

that "it was a constant delight to me to note the interest which the colored students took in trying to help the Indians in every way possible."[24] Blacks influenced their Indian roommates to learn various trades, taught them how to speak English, and facilitated the natives' acquisition of "civilized habits."[25] Washington also noted that "the treatment the Indians have received at this institution at the hands of colored students is quite a rebuke to many white institutions, both North and South." In his opinion, "the introduction of the Indian here will at least show that the colored man has learned enough to know that it is his duty to help the unfortunate wherever he finds them, whether clothed in black, white, or red skins."[26]

Some native scholars agreed with Washington and Armstrong. Occasionally, Indian pupils requested permission to attend classes with the more advanced black students. Jonathan Heustice, a Pawnee who came to Hampton from Indian Territory in October 1879, asked Armstrong for permission to work full-time during the day and to enter Hampton's night school. Heustice informed the principal, "I want to be with the colored boys and talk with them in English, to go to

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[24]BTW, Up From Slavery, 73.

[25]BTW, "Incidents of Indian Life at Hampton," SW (October 1880), 103.

[26]BTW, "Incidents of Indian Life at Hampton," SW 9 (October 1880), 103; BTW Papers, 2:85-86.

school with them; this way I think I can learn fast, both in books and in work."[27]

Rev. John J. Gravatt, spiritual advisor to native scholars from Episcopal agencies, reaffirmed the positive aspects of biracial interaction underway at the school. He noted that "industrially, the contact with the colored race has been of great value to the Indian. The Negro knows how to work; the Indian needs to learn." "Hampton Institute is a balanced wheel," Gravatt concluded, "and has been exerting a quiet but powerful influence for good."[28] He also made certain that Hampton's black pupils encouraged their native classmates to engage in missionary pursuits during their tenure at Hampton.[29]

Hampton's principal believed in the practical benefits of multiracial training. "With many different characteristics," noted Armstrong, "the two races need the same lessons--of the dignity of labor, because the one has never had it to do and the other did it under compulsion; of manual skill, because without it they must starve; from books, because both need a modicum of education to do their duty as citizens, while the most capable of both races

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[27]Jonathan Heustice, Indian Cottage, October 30, 1880, to SCA, SW 9 (December 1880), 125; BTW Papers, 2:98-99.

[28]Letter from Rev. J.J. Gravatt, in Ten Years' Work, 69-70.

[29]CMF, "Indians as Missionaries," SW 18 (January 1889), 12; SW 23 (April 1894), 62; SW 20 (March 1891), 166.

should be trained as teachers and leaders of their people."[30]

Jim Crow Comes To Hampton

Despite Armstrong's initial plans for integrating Hampton, he segregated Indian and black scholars beginning in 1880 to meet the educational needs of Indians. Racial segregation decreased substantially during the 1890s when better-educated Indian arrivals began enrolling in the integrated Normal School, thus eliminating the necessity of a separate Indian Department. Later arrivals, who came east due to the influence of Hampton's Indian alumni, also entered the institution fully aware of its biracial atmosphere. Had they disliked blacks, they surely would have avoided the school entirely or complained about the institution's biracial climate. It took the loss of Hampton's government appropriation in 1912, however, to eliminate nearly all of the remaining vestiges of racial segregation at Hampton.[31]

During the 1880s, native arrivals no longer required the services of black students as helpmates. More acculturated Indians, especially those who had already

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[30]SCA, RCIA (1885), in House Executive Document no. 1, 49th Congress, 1st sess., serial 2379, 236; Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 120-25.

[31]Robert Engs noted that Hampton officials separated Indian and black students to better meet the needs of the less-educated Indian pupils. Engs, "Red, Black, and White," in Region, Race, and Reconstruction, Ed. J. Morgan Kousser and James McPherson (New York, 1982), 250-51.

adjusted to boarding school life, now assumed the role of big brothers.[32] Segregated dormitories, dining rooms (later replaced by separate tables), military companies, and seating in chapel further distanced the two races at Hampton.[33] Racially separate living quarters became the norm as a result of increasing Indian enrollment and the completion of dormitories specifically reserved for native scholars. Segregated facilities, initially implemented for practical reasons, increased in proportion to the racial prejudice against Hampton's biracial program. Segregated dormitories represented a compromise. Such a move allowed Armstrong to continue enrolling Indians at Hampton while simultaneously disarming those critical of educating Indians and blacks together. Had Armstrong integrated all aspects of school life, it is highly likely that Congress would have responded by cancelling Hampton's annual appropriation. Moreover, some wealthy benefactors were primarily interested in helping Indians, not blacks. Such a move would have alienated this important source of funding during a period of rapid growth at Hampton. In the end, school officials bowed to public and governmental pressures by fashioning a racial policy designed to establish a relationship between

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[32]HWL, Ten Years' Work, 15; Muir, "Indian Education at Hampton Institute," 85-87.

[33]Elaine Goodale Eastman, Pratt: Red Man's Moses, (Norman, 1935), 65.

Indian and black students that was "friendly, but not intimate--distant, but not hostile."[34]

Armstrong had made his decision, but it was not written in stone. He and his successors had the sense to constantly adapt their program to meet changing needs and pressures. In 1883 Armstrong explained why Hampton officials had devised an educational environment characterized by a mixture of racial integration and segregation. "As far as practicable," he noted, "the colored and Indian students are mingled in class and work, at the table, in military organization, and social intercourse." Segregation at Hampton began when benefactors donated funds for the construction of new buildings designated solely for Indians. In addition, "the convenience of caring for the health and habits, and the necessity of different methods of instruction for the majority who do not understand English," also compelled a certain amount of racial separation.[35]

Such seemingly incompatible views regarding biracial associations stemmed from the educators' cultural ignorance. Like other Gilded Age reformers, Hampton's faculty naively believed that native peoples lacked sound work habits. Such character flaws, however, could be remedied if native scholars associated with, and followed the example of,

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[34]HWL, Ten Years' Work, 13; Adams, "Education in Hues," 170.

[35]SCA, "The Indian Work at Hampton," Wowapi 1 (November 7, 1883), 64.

Hampton's black students.[36] As a result, staff members frequently encouraged blacks to assist their less fortunate schoolmates, who had been even more unjustly than themselves "sacrificed to the interest of the white man."[37]

Despite the obvious areas of social segregation that existed at Hampton, a great deal of socialization also occurred. In 1887, Armstrong informed the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that Indian and black pupils marched in the same company, met in the same classrooms, sat upon the same court martial, and labored at the same bench in the school's workshops. Students of both races also played sports together, collaborated in defying school rules, and worshipped together. Despite frequent interaction, Armstrong assured the commissioner that "no difficulty has arisen between them during the year, nor has the slightest evidence of hostility or race jealousy been manifested."[38]

Racial segregation at Hampton, on the surface at least, appears to have been implemented by school authorities in an attempt to calm the exaggerated fears of Hampton's bigoted critics.[39] Educational levels of entering pupils also

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[36]SCA, SW 15 (April 1886), 46.

[37]SW 13 (September 1884), 95.

[38]SCA, RCIA (1887), in House Executive Document no. 1, 50th Cong., 1st sess., serial 2542, 346. J.D.C. Atkins was the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

[39]Tingey, "Indians and Blacks Together," 172-73; Peabody, Education for Life, 148.

contributed to the rise of segregated classrooms. During the early 1880s, a majority of native arrivals lacked rudimentary English skills. Hollis Frissell, Hampton's second principal, recalled that "in the early years of the school while there were always exceptionally bright Indians, it was quite impossible to hold the mass of Indian pupils to the same standards as the colored students either in work or study."[40] Integrated classes increased over the years as better-educated and English-speaking Indians began enrolling at Hampton.

Meanwhile, a great deal of racial and ethnic interaction occurred in the school's Indian classes. Foreign pupils needing to improve their English skills before advancing to the Normal School entered the Indian Department.[41] In 1885, Lee Shek Wun, a Chinese student sent to Hampton to prepare for a missionary career, enrolled in the Indian Department. Wun, who later attended Oberlin College, recalled how he came to Hampton with his tightly-braided hair coiled about his head. To improve his English, Wun took classes with the native pupils. His appearance initially angered the Indians, for they could not understand

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[40]HBF, "Thirty-Sixth Annual Report of the Principal," SW 33 (May 1904), 291.

[41]SCA, RCIA (1885), serial 2379, 242. That this is a school for the uncivilized of any race," noted Armstrong, "is illustrated by the fact that several youths of various nationalities, especially Asiatics who have drifted to this country, have applied for admission during the past year."

why the Chinese pupil was allowed to retain his long hair when they were obliged to trim their flowing locks. To avoid a controversy, Wun allowed Hampton officials to cut his long queue, much to the delight of his native American classmates.[42]

Lee Shek Wun was not the only foreign student to enter Hampton's Indian Department. Another pupil, a native African from the Gold Coast region with no knowledge of English, also entered the Indian Department in 1885.[43] During the 1891 academic year, 491 blacks, 134 Indians, and ten pupils of other races enrolled in the school. Students from Africa, Japan, China, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Russia, Armenia, and the Philippines struggled to learn English alongside their Indian classmates. One young Russian girl, Batsu Chazeen, enrolled in the Indian Department and even boarded in the all-Indian Winona Lodge.[44] The infusion of foreign nationals into the student body introduced Indian scholars to a variety of cultures. Like the black pupils

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[42]"Incidents of Indian Life at Hampton," SW 14 (March 1885), 32; Lee Shek Wun, to Miss R., New York City, September 10, 1885, in SW 14 (November 1885), 114; SW 16 (January 1887), 9; SW 24 (January 1895), 10.

[43]"From A Native African," SW 14 (April 1885), 42. Armstrong attempted to enroll African scholars as early as 1880. See Kenneth James King, Pan-Africanism and Education (Oxford, 1971), 6.

[44]SW 20 (January 1891), 138; SW 20 (February 1891), 155; SW 20 (March 1891), 157; SCA, "Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Principal," SW 20 (June 1891), 169; SW 31 (November 1902), 635; SW 36 (November 1907), 583; SCA, Twenty-Two Years' Work, 114.

who welcomed Pratt's Dakota Territory party, Indian students at Hampton greeted, teased, and ultimately helped Americanize foreign students.[45]

Despite segregated living quarters, dining facilities at the school remained integrated from 1878 until 1886, but Indian and black students ate at segregated tables according to race and sex.[46] In 1886, school authorities assigned native pupils separate dining facilities, largely so that Dr. Anna Johnson could implement a special diet for Indians. Such drastic measures represented an urgent attempt by school officials to improve the health of its ailing native pupils. Principal Frissell, who would later integrate Hampton's dining facilities in 1896, commented that he hoped such a measure would promote a "more thorough mingling of new and old students as well as those of both races."[47]

Hampton authorities began integrating classrooms when English-speaking Indian students arrived at the school able

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[45]Two foreign students--Madikane Cele, a Zulu from Natal, and Kamba Simango, a Bantu from Portuguese South Africa, provided Natalie Curtis Burlin with African materials for her book, Songs and Tales from the Dark Continent (New York, 1920); Lindsey, Indian at Hampton Institute, 147, n9.

[46]Hampton teachers fought to integrate dining facilities during summer vacations. A faculty meeting of June 7, 1882, voted "to reseat the boys in the dining room after the first of July so that the Indians might be with colored boys at the table and gain as much as possible during the summer." See "Indian Teachers Meetings," June 7, 1882, HUA.

[47]HBF, SW 25 (July 1896), 138; "Annual Report," SW 27 (May 1898), 12; Lindsey, Indians at Hampton, 136-45.

to enter the higher grades. In 1881, Armstrong hinted that significant intermixture was already taking place. Although Hampton's mission was "primarily devoted to the colored race," Armstrong reported that students of both races "mingle pleasantly in school." In fact, school officials had encouraged the racial interaction by placing "the negro in the advanced, the Indian in the primary classes, [and] mixing [them] in the intermediate."[48] The results impressed Armstrong. In fact, the biracial contact prompted the principal to express his view that Hampton would do well to take a larger proportion of native scholars capable of entering the Normal School so that more Indians could benefit from contact with blacks.[49]

Indian pupils attending Hampton before 1890 had not received the full benefit of prior training at reservation day schools. As a result, Indian students capable of advancing to the integrated classes in the Normal School possessed a mixed ancestry or lived near whites. These students advanced in their studies because they had greater exposure to English than did their full-blood classmates. In 1883, only 20 Indians (19 percent of the native pupils at Hampton) attended classes in the Normal School. By 1886 28

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[48]SCA, "Report of Hampton School, RCIA (1881), serial 2018, 196; SCA, Report of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute for the Year Ending June 30, 1881 (Richmond, 1881), 9.

[49]SCA, RCIA (1885), serial 2379, 242.

Indian scholars (25 percent) had advanced to Hampton's highest department. After 1890, however, the percentage of American Indian students capable of enrolling in the Normal School exceeded 40 percent.[50]

After 1890 the composition of Hampton's student body began to change, due in part to raised admission standards, greater selectivity of applicants, and an increase in the number of Indians who had previously received some type of formal academic training. In addition, more acculturated Indians from eastern reservations, particularly Iroquois and Eastern Band Cherokee pupils, began to outnumber the less assimilated Sioux pupils who increasingly preferred attending boarding schools closer to home. Before 1896 each separate division within Hampton's academic community (Normal, Night, Whittier, and Indian schools) had an independent faculty and a separate administration.[51] After 1896, however, separate departments became a thing of the past. Better prepared Indian arrivals prompted Frissell to consolidate the Indian department with the school's Normal School classes.[52]

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[50]"Annual Report of the Principal," SW 12 (June 1883), 64, 67; "Hampton School Record," SW 15 (November 1886), 109; Josephine E. Richards, in "Annual Report of the Principal," SW 19 (June 1890), 66-67; "Hampton School Record," SW 19 (November 1890), 109, 114.

[51]Peabody, Education for Life, 366; HBF, "Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the Principal," SW 26 (May 1897), 92-96.

[52]"Hampton School Record," SW 25 (November 1896), 216-20. Indians participating in Hampton's biracial post-

In 1897, Frissell reported that the integrated classes proved beneficial to Indian students. "Just so far as they can be treated like other people the better," he noted.[53] Integrated studies especially helped the Indians, who made "much more rapid progress in English and the industries when thrown with the colored students."[54] After 1898, all prospective pupils, both Indian and black, had to pass an entrance examination. As a result, more than half of all native scholars entered Hampton's integrated Normal School instead of the remedial Indian Department.[55] In addition, school authorities no longer solicited Indian students for the school. Increased numbers of applications also enabled Hampton officials to elevate the school's academic standards. Frissell remarked that attending Hampton now

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graduate programs also increased after 1890. Only five Indians (Michael Oshkeneny (Menominee), Charles Picotte (Yankton Sioux), Zallie Rulo (Yankton Sioux), Anna Dawson (Arikara), and Julia St. Cyr (Winnebago) pursued post-graduate studies at Hampton before 1890. See Appendix G for a complete list of Indians who enrolled in Hampton's post-graduate offerings.

[53]HBF, RCIA (1897), House Document no. 5, 55th Cong., 2d sess., serial 3641, 384; HBF, "Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the Principal," SW 26 (May 1897), 92-96; "Indians at Hampton," Report of Principal to Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1878-1916," 14, HUA; Peabody, Education For Life, 366.

[54]HBF, "Thirtieth Annual Report of the Principal," SW 27 (May 1898), 92-93.

[55]JER in "Thirtieth Annual Report of the Principal," SW 27 (May 1898), 95-97.

became a reward of merit for academic achievement.[56] Prospective Indian students unable to demonstrate the necessary academic qualifications needed to enter Hampton's advanced classes were rarely admitted. In 1901, Frissell reported, "As the western schools have improved we have been able to place them in the same classes with the colored students, thus doing away with a separate Indian department."[57]

Like Armstrong before him, Frissell praised Hampton's biracial experiment. Although students still lived in separate quarters and sat at segregated tables in the mess hall, Indians and blacks mingled freely in the shops and classrooms at Hampton. Hampton's president concluded his 1901 report by noting that

> Having two races at Hampton makes the work in some respects more complex, but at the same time it gives the school a broader outlook on race problems than it would otherwise have. Just as far as possible Hampton is made a miniature world, where the young people learn to deal with problems similar to those they will meet later in the outside world.[58]

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[56]HBF, "Thirtieth Annual Report of the Principal," SW 27 (May 1898), 92; "Indians at Hampton," Report of Principal to Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1878-1916," 14, HUA.

[57]HBF, RCIA (1901), in House Document no. 5, 57th Cong., 1st sess., serial 4290, 576; HBF, "Annual Report," SW 20 (May 1901), 288; "Indians at Hampton," Report of Principal to Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1878-1916, 16, HUA.

[58]HBF, RCIA (1901), serial 4290, 577; HBF, "Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Principal," SW 30 (May 1901), 288-89.

Frissell also promised that teachers would now strive "to fit for special work among their people those Indians who have received elementary training in western schools."[59]

Hampton's "Black Indians"

Twenty-eight Indian students, those with African-American heritage, helped promote racial cooperation at Hampton.[60] In 1881, Frank Black Hawk became the first black Indian to participate in the school's biracial experiment. Black Hawk, the son of a Standing Rock Sioux mother and black father, was described as "a very bright boy, speaking very good English, but at the same time loves better his native tongue, the Sioux language."[61] Charles Soman (Menominee) noted that Frank was "one half colored boy" who could speak both English and Lakota. The other Sioux pupils who could not speak English asked Frank to interpret at their prayer meetings.[62] Hampton officials reported that he "likes colored boys very well, but Indians better. He

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[59]HBF, Thirty-Sixth Annual Report of Hampton's Principal," SW 33 (May 1904), 301-302.

[60]In 1879, Armstrong commented that "upward of twelve percent of our colored students have Indian blood in their veins." SCA, Report of the Principal for the Year Ending July 30, 1879 (Richmond, 1879), 10.

[61]SW 11 (Jan 1882), 7.

[62]Charles Soman, "Scholarship Letters," SW (May 1882), in SF, HUA.

mostly associates with Indian boys who seem to appreciate him as much as any among them."[63]

Black Hawk repeatedly ran into trouble during his stay at Hampton. It was no surprise, therefore, when Cora Folsom learned that he had received an eighteen-month prison sentence for stealing liquor from the agency physician following his return home.[64] Although he became an ideal prisoner and later worked as an assistant cook at the penitentiary, Black Hawk fell in with his former cohorts after returning to Standing Rock. In 1897, he was implicated in the brutal murder of the Spicer family. Two of the defendants, George Defender and Black Hawk, were transferred to nearby Bismarck until the trial could take place. Meanwhile, the three other alleged culprits were detained in the Williamsport County jail. None of the defendants, however, would ever stand trial. Defender and Black Hawk were released and the evidence against them was destroyed after an angry mob stormed the county jail and lynched the three Indian suspects. Hampton's first black Indian also felt the community's wrath. In 1901, Black Hawk

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[63]SW (January 1882), clipping in Black Hawk's SF, HUA. Peter Black Hawk, Frank's younger brother, also attended Hampton.

[64]F.B. Fulenwider, Warden, U.S. Penitentiary, Sioux Falls, SD, December 18, 1887, to CMF, HI; Letter to CMF from Frank Black Hawk dated November 18, 1887, in SW 17 (January 1888), 11; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 382-83; "Record of Returned Indians," 138, HUA.

was murdered by individuals who wanted him punished for his role in the Spicer murders.[65]

Henry Brodette Thompson, a Shinnecock with African-American heritage, arrived at Hampton in October 1900 and graduated five years later. His father, John Thompson, was Shinnecock, but his mother, Ellen Thompson, was black. Henry had worked at the Shinnecock Hills Golf Club before heading south to learn carpentry. Henry informed his scholarship donor that "I first thought about coming to Hampton two years ago after hearing Dr. Frissell speak in the village of Southampton [Long Island, New York]. My last teacher was a student at Hampton, and he spoke of Hampton as being one of the best trade schools in the country."[66]

Thompson soon learned that, despite the fine record he made at Hampton, his African-American heritage rendered him unemployable. The bright Shinnecock wanted to work in an Indian boarding school, but could not get a job. In 1910, Henry contacted his former teachers to ask if they would assist him in his efforts to obtain a position as a manual training teacher or carpentry instructor in one of

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[65]Jerry Hart, "Spicer Tragedy," in A History of Emmons County, Ed. Ellen Woods and Euvagh Wenzell, 25-27, in North Dakota State Archives Vertical File, Bismarck, ND; Winona [ND] Times, June 3, 1897, 1 (microfilm roll #3499); Emmons County [ND] Record, April 2, 1897; "Five Reds Held for Trial," Globe [St. Paul, MN], May 17, 1897, clipping in SF, HUA; "Black Hawk Dead," Tribune [Bismarck], April 29, 1901, clipping in SF, HUA.

[66]Henry Thompson to "Dear Friend," February 13, 1901, in SF, HUA.

the western schools. Henry preferred working in an Indian boarding school, but informed Frissell that he would be willing to teach black pupils "if an Indian school does not present itself."[67]

Henry's Hampton friends did what they could for him, only to learn that the Indian Department would not hire black Indians. Charles E. Dagenett, the supervisor of Indian employment for the Office of Indian Affairs, informed Caroline Andrus, Hampton's Indian correspondent, that his department would not hire a black Indian. "I have no doubt that this young man is thoroughly competent, especially so after having been of the class of pupils who had to work their way through," noted Dagenett, "but owing to the fact that he has some Negro blood in him I would not take any action on his behalf, nor do I think it at all advisable that he be employed in the Indian Service."[68]

Other Hamptonians experienced the same discrimination. Emma Corn (Pine Ridge Sioux), the child of a black father and Rosa Blue Legs, a Lakota woman, arrived at Hampton in 1907. She too excelled in her studies. After five years, she decided to enter the school's Dixie Hospital's nursing

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[67]Henry B. Thompson, Southampton, NY, August 24, 1910, to HBF, HI, letter in SF, HUA.

[68]Charles E. Dagenett, Supervisor, Indian Employment, Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Denver, CO, September 30, 1910, to Caroline Andrus, HI, in Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior Correspondence Box, "Department of the Interior (Andrus), Office of Indian Affairs File," HUA.

program. Corn later graduated from Dixie and returned to Porcupine, South Dakota, to work as a nurse. But like other black Indians who attended Hampton, her mixed ancestry hurt her chances of finding employment in the Indian Service. Caroline Andrus, the Hampton instructor who fought to find Emma a job, contacted a friend asking for help: "Her colored blood puts her out of chance of getting into the Indian Service, and she is anxious to work among Indians so she is in a rather difficult position." The teacher's intercession worked. In 1916, Corn moved to New York to enroll in a special obstetrical course that Andrus had arranged for her. During her stay, the Hampton alumna fell in love with Felipe Morejon Mella. The newlyweds moved to Cuba following her graduation with honors from Bellevue Allied Hospital.[69]

While some Indian Hamptonians possessing African-American blood encountered obstacles after leaving the school, others had a difficult time staying. Virginia Ransom, a student of Pueblo and African-American parentage, arrived at the school in January 1908, but left three months later when federal authorities rejected her application for federal assistance.[70] C.F. Larrabee, the Acting

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[69]Emma Corn, Biography Sheet, "Report After Leaving Hampton Institute," "Brief Application of Emma Corn," [November 29, 1907]; Hampton Student October 15, 1912, SW (October 1917), SW (January 1918); Caroline Andrus, HI, September 16, 1916, to Mrs. Page, [New York, New York], all items are in Emma's SF, HUA.

[70]Virginia Ransom's Biography Sheet; "Application for Enrollment," January 8, 1908, both items in SF, HUA;

Commissioner of Indian Affairs, informed Frissell that no "conclusive evidence" of Ransom's Pueblo blood could be found. Though Benjamin Mossman, a clerk and the Acting-Agent at Union Agency, Oklahoma, reported that he was satisfied that Ransom's mother was a full-blood Indian, Larrabee rejected the Hampton pupil's appeal since her "Indian blood could not be proved."[71]

Although she was not placed on the government list, Frissell allowed Virginia Ransom to stay at Hampton if she would work during the day and attend night school. But the delicate Pueblo student "was not physically able to stay and earn her way through." Before leaving Hampton, Ransom expressed her disappointment and anger. In a letter to Frederick Gleason, she wrote: "My mother is an Indian as true as you ever seen one. And you can see by looking at me that my father was a natural born collord man. But for me to trace my mother's and father's ancestry is impossible for I know nothing about them."[72]

Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 206. The biographical data indicates that Virginia's mother, Savannah Ransom, was a full-blood Pueblo, but her father, Daniel Ransom, was black.

[71]C.F. Larrabee, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., to HBF, HI, March 14, 1908 [copy]; C.F. Larrabee, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., to HBF, HI, March 25, 1908 [copy], both letters are in Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Letters to HBF, Box 2, "L-Z," HUA.

[72]Virginia Ransom, [March 6, 1908], to "Dear Mr. Gleason," HI, in SF, HUA.

Like Virginia Ransom, other students with mixed parentage had to substantiate their claims. Cynthia Powdrill, a Pueblo student with African-American blood, attended Hampton in 1910 at the urging of her guardian, William Lone Wolf (Kiowa), a former Hampton student.[73] Unlike Ransom, however, Powdrill remained at Hampton until her 1915 graduation. Not every Indian student approved the decision to admit Powdrill. Evelyn Twoguns (Flower-in-the-Cup), a Seneca alumna, told Caroline Andrus: "It is a known fact that Cynthia Powdrill is a Negro but they call themselves natives in Oklahoma because they were slaves of the Indians once upon a time and when the Indians were allotted they were allotted too." Twoguns concluded her letter by noting that "Lydia Shawnee [Adopted Absentee-Shawnee] knows her people well, and Lucy Hunter [Winnebago] looked them up too when she was in Muskogee and inquired thoroughly."[74]

William Lonewolf, the Kiowa pupil responsible for sending both Virginia Ransom and Cynthia Powdrill to Hampton, was himself an Indian of mixed Creek and African-American heritage. Lone Wolf, William's father, was a black man adopted by the Kiowas who later became a chief. In 1901, some individuals began to question the Kiowa's claims.

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[73]Cynthia Powdrill, Biography Sheet and "Application for Enrollment," September 24, 1910, in SF, HUA.

[74]Evelyn Twoguns to Caroline Andrus, August 22, 1918, in Cynthia Powdrill's SF, HUA.

After thoroughly investigating the matter, Frissell wrote that "he says his father was negro and his mother a Creek Indian, and that he was formally adopted by Chief Lonewolf of the Kiowas and by the tribe."[75] That same year, Hampton officials permitted William to travel to Washington, D.C., to meet his father and other members of the Kiowa delegation. A short time later, Lone Wolf contacted Hampton authorities to inform them, "I want to take my boy William home." Frissell reluctantly consented to the chief's request, but refused to pay William's traveling expenses to Oklahoma. An angry Lone Wolf responded, "How is it that the government does not pay his expenses? He is my boy and ought to have the same rights as the other Indians."[76]

Carrie Warren (Woman Being Heard), a student possessing a mix of Arapaho and African-American blood, entered Hampton in 1912 and graduated four years later. Her father, Leslie Warren, was a black man who died when Warren was a baby. Her mother, Cat, was a full-blood Arapaho who died of tuberculosis in 1902 when Warren was nine. Mennonite missionaries then assumed guardianship of the young orphan. Agnes Williams, the person responsible for sending Warren to

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[75]HBF, HI, October 10, 1900, to James A. Randlett, U.S. Indian Agent, Kiowa Agency, Oklahoma, in "Indian Letters, 1898-1906," 159, HUA; William Lonewolf's Biography Sheet, in SF, HUA.

[76]Lone Wolf, Washington, D.C., May 15, 1901, to HBF, HI, in William's SF, HUA; HBF, HI, May 18, 1901, to the Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., [copy], in "Indian Letters, 1898-1906," 186, HUA.

Hampton for companionship and advanced training, reported that she "has always spoken English and is ahead of her associates in her studies."[77] Williams also informed Frissell that "we want that her further education be with the purpose of her returning to us to help in the work indirectly, and as she grows older directly." Hampton, however, was Warren's last hope. The young orphan's guardians contacted Hampton officials only after the Northfield Seminary denied her application for admission because of her Negro blood.[78] Warren expressed her views regarding her racial identity when she wrote: "By birth I am an Arapaho but from my childhood I have always lived among the Cheyennes and feel as if I belonged to them so I claim both tribes as my people."[79]

Nancy Coleman and her brother Calvin, both Eastern Band Cherokees, claimed to be a mixture of black, white, and Cherokee. Their father, Harrison Coleman, was part Indian and white, but their mother, Mournin Coleman, was Indian and

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[77]Carrie Warren, Biography Sheet; "Application for Admission," July 15, 1912; Agnes Williams, Cheyenne-Mennonite Mission, Cantonment, OK, April 9, 1912, to the Superintendent of HI [copy], all items are in SF, HUA.

[78]Williams to the Superintendent of HI, April 9, 1912; Bertha Kinsinger Petter, Cantonment, OK, July 17, 1912, to CWA, HI, letters in Warren's SF, HUA; Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 208.

[79]Carrie Warren, untitled essay dated 1913, in SF, HUA. Lindsey notes that Warren later married a black man. Information in Warren's student file does not substantiate his claim.

black.[80] In 1917, Eli Bird (Eastern Band Cherokee), a former Hampton student, told Caroline Andrus that the Colemans were not allowed to enter the Cherokee school "owing to the fact that they are Negroes." Moreover, Bird reported that the "Coleman people have all been put on the doubtful [list] in the book of 'Life and Death,'" the Cherokee tribal roll.[81] James Hudson, a teacher at the Cherokee Indian School, informed Hampton authorities that he also contested the Colemans' tribal affiliation. Although they claimed to be one-quarter Cherokee, Hudson noted that the tribal council and white neighbors "recognize them as negroes."[82]

Funding was never an issue for the Coleman siblings because they both entered Hampton after the government canceled its annual appropriation. Nancy Coleman arrived at Hampton in September 1914 and left the school in March 1918 to enter Dixie Hospital's training school for nurses. During her stay at Hampton, she spent two years attending the West Chester State Normal School in Pennsylvania. Nancy Coleman graduated from Hampton in 1917, but remained at the school to instruct female students how to sew and make

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[80]Calvin Coleman, Biography Sheet, SF, HUA.

[81]Eli Bird, Cherokee, NC, September 18, 1917, to CWA, HI, in Calvin Coleman's SF, HUA.

[82]James Hudson, Cherokee Indian School, Cherokee, NC, January 1, 1918, to William H. Scoville, HI, in Calvin Coleman's SF, HUA.

dresses. She completed her nursing studies in 1921 and married Ernest S. Thornton, a black Hampton alumnus. The pair moved to Massachusetts where Ernest managed a farm owned by St. John's Church of Springfield, Massachusetts. Calvin, on the other hand, remained at Hampton for only a short time.[83]

The most interesting "black Indians" to attend Hampton were the adopted Absentee-Shawnees who enrolled in the school to acquire an advanced education. The Shawnee siblings--Emaline, Eva, Rebecca, Lydia, Lafayette, David, Julia, and Myrtle--claimed to be one-quarter Indian, but their biography sheets show that both of their parents were black. One Hampton employee reported that their mother, Julia Shawnee, was a Creek freedwoman and their father, William Shawnee, was a slave who moved to Oklahoma. William Shawnee settled five miles East of Oklahoma City and worked at a variety of jobs until accepting the position of government interpreter for the Indians. In time, William and Julia Shawnee were adopted by the tribe.[84]

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[83]Nancy Coleman, Biography Sheet, "Record After Leaving Hampton Institute," in SF, HUA; Ernest S. Thornton's SF, HUA; Calvin Coleman's SF, HUA.

[84]William Scoville (1904), comments in Eva Shawnee's SF, HUA; David Shawnee to Mr. Tharp, scholarship letter dated March 3, 1920, in SF, HUA; Scoville reported that the Shawnee siblings were "colored" and "not Indian at all." He also claimed that "all creek freedmen and women are Negro pure and simple." Wilma King, "Multicultural Education at Hampton Institute--The Shawnees: A Case Study, 1900-1923," Journal of Negro Education 57, no. 4 (1988), 526-33. King mentions that two Shawnee siblings enrolled at the school

Eva Shawnee was the first sibling to enter Hampton when she arrived in 1900. Mary C. Williams, the superintendent of the Absentee-Shawnee School, informed Frissell that "Eva is a colored girl & not an Indian though her entire family--part of which is Indian--enjoy all the privileges of government that the Shawnees do." Williams also reported that Eva Shawnee "has been educated as an Indian--has never associated with colored people . . . She has had the best of teachers and has been treated as an Indian."[85] The Shawnee siblings, though not genetically Indian, had been raised among native people and were culturally Indian. They attended Indian schools, spoke the Shawnee language, and had associated with other tribal members.

Lafayette Shawnee arrived at Hampton in November 1906, two years after Eva's graduation. He came "as a Negro" but was later placed on the government list in January 1907. After graduating from Hampton in 1912, he taught agriculture at Langston University, a black institution of higher learning in Oklahoma. Lafayette Shawnee devoted his career to improving the quality of life of rural black families. After leaving his position at Langston, he became the county agent for blacks living in Kingfisher County, Oklahoma. In

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between 1917 until 1923 when race was no longer indicated on biographical sheets. I have located David's student file, but Myrtle's file is missing from Hampton's archives.

[85]Mary C. Williams, Superintendent, Absentee-Shawnee School, Oklahoma Territory, June 7, 1900, to HBF, HI, in Eva Shawnee's SF, HUA.

1932, he returned to teaching when he was named principal of the high school in the county.[86]

Word of the school's Indian program reached a national audience. It is no surprise, then, that some African-American students posed as American Indians in an attempt to receive Hampton's benefits. One such impostor, Fred Carlisle Thompson, arrived at Hampton for the start of classes in 1916. He informed school authorities that although he looked black, he was part Apache. Thompson also told skeptical school officials that he had also previously attended Carlisle. Yet when faculty members asked him probing questions regarding Carlisle, he ignored her. In fact, the impostor could not tell the teacher anything about the school. Andrus decided to investigate the matter. Before contacting the authorities, however, she decided to verify Thompson's story. Realizing that his plot had been foiled, Thompson secretly left school the next day.[87]

Despite the rosy picture of race relations depicted by Hampton officials, many skeptics challenged the wisdom of educating Indians and blacks at Hampton. By looking beyond the rhetoric and examining the carefully crafted public

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[86]Lafayette Shawnee, Biography Sheet; Lafayette Shawnee to "My Dear Friend," scholarship letter dated May 1907; "Report After Leaving Hampton Institute;" Lafayette Shawnee, Langston, Oklahoma, November 13, 1918, to H.B. Turner, HI, all of these items are in Lafayette's SF, HUA.

[87]CWA, Hampton, VA, to Mr. Lipps, Carlisle PA, October 2, 1916, letter in Fred C. Thompson's SF, HUA.

image of Hampton, one soon discovers the many ways Indian and black students interacted with one another in the classrooms, dormitories, workshops, and school organizations. Still others joined forces and conspired to defy Hampton's strict rules. A few love-struck Indian and black scholars even managed to do the unthinkable: they romanced, courted, and married one another.

Chapter IX

"Oppression Makes Us Kin": Indian and Black Interaction at Hampton

By the late 1880s, the effort to undercut Hampton's program for Indian youth had become all too familiar to school officials. When the Rev. Thomas Childs questioned Hampton's treatment of native Americans in 1887, General Armstrong called on politically connected benefactors to help defend the school's record.[1] During the publicity battle that ensued, the school received a welcome surprise. Anna Dawson (Wild Rose), an Arikara who came to Hampton with her mother, Mary Dawson, in November 1879, contacted Armstrong to counteract the "considerable and unfavorable talk concerning the Negroes and their influence over Indians at Hampton." Dawson assured skeptics that "Indians do not come in contact with the Negroes as most people suppose." She was right. During the biracial experiment's first ten

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[1]SCA, HI, to Gen. Eliphalet Whittlesey and Albert K. Smiley of the Board of Indian Commissioners, March 15, 1888, HUA; Rev. T.S. Childs, D.D., Inspector &c., Washington, D.C., SCA's reply [copy]; Childs Report Box, HUA; SW 18 (July 1889), 77, 80; SW 18 (August 1889), 85; SW 18 (September 1889), 93-96.

years, the two races did not have a great deal of contact at Hampton. Indians and blacks lived in separate buildings, ate in different dining rooms, and enrolled in separate divisions within the school (except when Indians attended the Normal classes). Dawson also commented that she personally "found the Negroes friendly, and of great help to the Indians in many good ways, instead of a hindrance to us by our contact with them." Recalling the many ways black pupils helped the native scholars, Dawson declared:

> In that they were earnest, faithful, and worked hard for their education, they also induced me to appreciate my opportunities. Also their example of courtesy in the pleasant social gatherings which the Indians once in a while spend with the Negroes, I think, has an elevating effect on the Indians, as the Indian young men learn, from the Negro young men, the civilized way of treating women with respect. And one of our most helpful teachers and friends we ever had was Miss Lovey Mayo, a colored young lady who for some years was employed in that Indian Department . . . I am glad that my people have the chance to come in contact with the kind, earnest, hard-working set of people, for I know from my own experience there are many things which they can learn from the Negroes.[2]

Like Dawson, Hampton employees also assured government officials and potential benefactors that the two races educated together at Hampton liked each other. Such glowing rhetoric, however, did not accurately depict the reality of

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[2]Anna Dawson, HI, February 23, 1888 to SCA, published in Ten Years' Work for the Indians at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia (Hampton, 1888), 57-58; T&T 11 (October, 1895), clipping in SF, HUA.

Indian-black relations at the school. Hampton authorities had to present their program in the best possible light or risk losing federal funds. While it is true that many Indian and black pupils appreciated the school's multiracial atmosphere, some students regretted ever leaving home. Private comments not intended for publication, letters of disgruntled Indian alumni, and the students' nonverbal actions more accurately captured the complex nature of race relations at the historically-black institution than Armstrong's propaganda.

Many former students commented on Hampton's biracial environment. Walter David Owl, an Eastern Band Cherokee pupil, wrote Hampton officials long after leaving the school to thank them for his education. Recalling his association with blacks at the school, Owl declared:

> The Indian boys lived in a building called the 'Wigwam.' We had our own tables in the dining room and had some social gatherings among ourselves. The general assemblies, social gatherings, religious meetings . . . were all open to Indian students. A few of our Indian girls married colored men and some of them developed congenially integrated families of culture. I know of no Indian male students who married a Negro girl. While the races were in a measure separate, the more basic school activities united us into one big student body.[3]

Lula Owl Gloyne (Eastern Band Cherokee), Walter's cousin, also recalled that the races interacted with each other at Hampton. Lula remembered attending occasional socials

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[3]W. David Owl, Versailles, NY, August 1, 1960, to Sydney Frissell, in SF, HUA.

arranged for the entire student body. "Once or twice a month we held socials for both Virginia Hall and Winona Lodge for the colored students and the Indian students." Despite the appearance of school unity, however, the Cherokee alumna also admitted that "we didn't mix very well because we were absolutely forbidden . . . They were forbidden to come over to our grounds and our building without permission and we were the same. If we were caught over there we were reprimanded." Gloyne did, however, point out that the school's racial environment changed after 1912. "But after we got to know each other, after the government took away its appropriation, we got along very well together."[4]

Some Indian pupils especially enjoyed getting to know students from different cultures. Lucy Hunter (Winnebago) wrote her friends at the Santee Normal Training School in Nebraska to tell them about her Hampton experience. She noted: "Mr. Riggs [Santee's founder] used to say that rubbing up against other people was education. I find that true here at Hampton. Mr. Riggs' remark has induced me to look at the colored people from altogether a different standpoint. I am learning from them many more good things

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[4]Lula Owl Gloyne, Joseph Tingey's recorded interview at Cherokee, North Carolina, August 3, 1974, cited in Joseph Willard Tingey, "Indians and Blacks Together: An Experiment in Biracial Education At Hampton Institute, 1878-1923," (Ed.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1978), 225-26.

than I am from the Indian students. Some of the best and most helpful people I have met are colored people."[5]

Other native scholars experienced a change of heart regarding blacks after interacting with them. Ruby Mae Pierce (Cayuga) recalled that "while at school and other places, I always have had the strongest prejudices against the Negroes. Here, if anyone feels that way, by just thinking what Hampton stands for, by thinking of the hundreds of boys and girls here struggling to get an education, that feeling quickly goes."[6] Josephine McCarthy (Standing Rock Sioux) also mentioned how associating with blacks at Hampton influenced her. McCarthy, the daughter of Charles McCarthy, an Irish trader, and Itatewin, a Standing Rock Sioux, reluctantly came to Hampton in 1881. She adjusted well to boarding school life and eventually advanced to the integrated Normal School. She later wrote that "I never knew the value of education until I sat in the same class room with the poor colored children, who struggled so hard for an education. I have seen them cry and pray over difficult problems that they could not understand." Her association with black students influenced her in other ways as well. "Most of the colored children were devout Christians," she remembered, "and it was a great

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[5]Lucy Hunter, Word Carrier (March-April 1913), clipping in SF, HUA.

[6]Ruby Mae Pierce to Miss Wheeler, scholarship letter dated October 14, 1914, in SF, HUA.

pleasure to go to the prayer-meetings, and listen to their experiences. They were an inspiration and an inducement for us Indian children to make an effort to keep up with them in all things."[7]

Walter David Owl (Eastern Band Cherokee), a 1915 Hampton graduate and ordained minister, also appreciated the school's biracial atmosphere. Years after leaving Hampton, Owl informed a Hampton employee: "The opportunity to live and work and play with the colored race proved--and has continued to guide my relations with all races--that, given an opportunity, under congenial circumstances, the dignity and worth of the individual in America is basic to our democratic way of life."[8] Emma Frazier Tibbetts (Santee Sioux), one of the last Indians to leave Hampton in 1923, concurred with Owl. Although she never graduated, she recalled how having to get along with many different people --white, black, and Indian--taught her a valuable lesson. "I got more of an education . . . general knowledge of people and how to get along in a mixed group by being with all kinds of people."[9]

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[7]Josephine [McCarthy] Waggoner, "Life Sketch of Mrs. Josephine McCarthy Waggoner," (March 1940), in Superintendent's Files, Series 203, Box 26, State Historical Society of North Dakota, Bismarck, North Dakota; Hot Springs [SD] Evening Star, April 6, 1940, 5.

[8]W. David Owl, Versailles, NY, August 1, 1960, to Sydney Frissell, HI, in SF, HUA.

[9]American Indian Research Center, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota, Ethel Walker, Tape 944,

Reuben Williams (Tuscarora) expressed his own views regarding Indians and blacks in a speech delivered at the school's 1915 Emancipation Day celebration. He believed that "we of both races are to attain a worthy destiny; to right the wrongs and abolish prejudice and ostracism." During the remainder of his speech, entitled "Shoulder to Shoulder," Williams emphasized the bond uniting the two races.

> The Negro has long been looked upon as a despised race of no importance. Your rapid progress has done away with that opinion and a different view is moulding. By equal opportunities all races are shoulder to shoulder in all phases of life. The increasing ability of self-reliance should then be recognized as one of the many factors in the race problem solution. Since no race moves as a single body, there must exist cooperation of individuals and races . . . We, who are here, surely believe that Hampton has what we need. The Indian race needs leaders of strong character to face squarely the evils and hardships which confront us. Both your race and mine must work to attain a worthy destiny, to right wrongs, to allay the prejudices of other races.[10]

Black alumni also reflected on the unique nature of Hampton's biracial environment. Robert Russa Moton, a 1890 graduate and Hampton employee, mentioned his alma mater's unique atmosphere in his autobiography, Finding A Way Out. While many blacks had sympathized with the plight of the

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interviewed by Jean Neley, November 11, 1973 (Emma Frazier Tibbets was also present during the interview).

[10]Reuben Williams, "Shoulder to Shoulder," speech delivered at Hampton on January 1, 1915, in "I Have A History Too: Voices of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute's American Indian Students," edited by Jon Brudvig and Fritz Malval, unpub. mss., np., in author's possession.

Indians and shared some of their views regarding whites, Moton stated, "we had nonetheless adapted ourselves to the white man's ways, and had consciously or unconsciously, and sometimes anxiously, absorbed the white man's civilization. The nearer we came to it, it seemed, the happier we were." Moton believed that his experience as a student, dormitory supervisor, and commandant changed him: "I learned for the first time that other peoples than the Negro had problems and race feelings and prejudices, and learned to sympathize with another race, one too, that was more nearly on a plane with my own and whose difficulties and handicaps seemed much greater than those of my own."[11]

Despite the praise some students and faculty had for Hampton's biracial experiment, it often hindered recruiting efforts. During his first recruiting trip among the western reservations in the fall of 1878, Richard Henry Pratt reported widespread anti-black prejudice among Indians and whites alike. "The girls from this agency [Standing Rock] were, at the last moment, led to abandon their intention through the prejudices against Hampton, as a colored institution, existing in the minds of the educators at the

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[11]Robert Russa Moton, Finding A Way Out, (New York, 1920; reprint, New York, 1969), 124-25; Twenty-Two Years' Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Va. (Hampton, 1893), 288.

agency which the Officer [Pratt] . . . found impossible to overcome in the short time."[12]

Even former students such as William Chisholm (Chippewa) reported difficulty finding Indians willing to attend Hampton. To make his point, Chisholm sent Hampton officials a clipping from a Minnesota newspaper condemning the biracial school. The author, Odanah Star, declared it "an insult to ask Indian parents to send their children to Hampton school where they at once become on the same level with the Negro. Better no education at all than [to] subject your children to this insult being heaped on them by the government."[13] Another former student, Joseph Ross (Pine Ridge Sioux), informed his Hampton friends that "those of us who have been to Hampton are always glad to see pupils going to Hampton and we will always render any assistance in securing applicants . . . One of the obstacles we have had to contend with is the idea that Hampton is a Negro school. This aversion to mingling with Negroes will soon be overcome, though when there are more returned students whose

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[12]"Report of Lieut. R.H. Pratt, Special Agent to Collect Indian Youth to be educated at Hampton Institute, VA," in RCIA (1878), in House Executive Document no. 1, 45th Cong., 3d sess., serial 1850, 669-71.

[13]Odanah Star, "Working to Train the Negro and the Indian," September 12, 1912, News Tribune (Duluth, MN), in William Chisholm's SF, HUA.

character and education will show they were not affected by Negro society."[14]

Recruiting Indians for Hampton became increasingly difficult after 1912. William Sapcut (Ukahpitty), a 1918 Comanche graduate, reported that he could not convince Indians to enroll in a black institution. Sapcut informed Caroline Andrus that "Oklahoma is too far South to try to get Indians to go to a colored school. The Indians know it very well and when they have been going to public or consolidated schools with white children, of course they naturally hesitate to go to school with Negroes." As a result, Sapcut told his former teacher that he could no longer conscientiously promote the school.[15] After visiting Oklahoma herself, Andrus declared that "many of our returned students are doing splendidly, and Hampton has a fine reputation, but color prejudice is so strong that I do not think there is much hope of any save an occasional student in that direction."[16]

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[14]Joseph Ross, Pine Ridge Agency, SD, July 27, 1904, to HBF, HI, in "General Correspondence to HBF, 1887-1916, N-Z File," Indian Affairs, General Correspondence, HBF, 1883-1911 Box, HUA; Joseph Ross, Allen, SD, February 5, 1913, to CWA, HUA, in SF, HUA.

[15]William Sapcut, Apache, OK, August 19, 1920, to Caroline Andrus, HI, in SF, HUA.

[16]CWA, Report Dated January 15, 1916, in Andrus, "Students Files," HUA.

Forbidden Fruit: Interracial Marriage and Sexual Attraction

While fighting to save his school's government appropriation in 1912, Hollis Frissell assured members of Congress that "no interracial marriage has ever resulted from the bringing together of the races at Hampton."[17] Frissell's statement, however, more accurately reflected his desperate attempt to retain federal monies than reality. Social intercourse at Hampton, especially between the races of the opposite sex, was limited and guarded. But despite the administration's best efforts, students always found ways to pursue their love interests, even across racial lines.[18]

One young Indian was asked in 1879 if he would marry an "educated squaw" or "one of the Indian women at home." The Dakota Territory arrival responded to his instructor by saying, "No, I marry a colored girl, she will teach me good Englis'."[19] Another Indian student announced, "I want to

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[17]"Forty-Fourth Annual Report of the Principal," SW (May 1912), 297.

[18]Walter David Owl (Eastern Band Cherokee) informed Sydney Frissell in 1960 that a few Indian girls married black Hampton students, but he could not remember any male Indian student marrying a black woman. Joseph W. Tingey also pointed out that male Indians expressed interest in black females while at school, yet no scholar has documented intermarriage between the two. See W. David Owl, Versailles, NY, August 1, 1960, to Sydney Frissell, in Owl's SF, HUA; Tingey, "Indians and Blacks Together," 182-83.

[19]"Incidents of Indian Life At Hampton: The Marriage Question," SW 8 (July 1879), 77.

learn all I can, and when I stop school I will write to my father that I want six horses." The puzzled faculty member inquired, "Will you sell them to get money to take you back to the Territory?" The native scholar then replied, "No; I give them to colored girl's father . . . If he give me the girl I give him the horses." The prospective groom added: "I take her to my home in the Territory; she be my wife, and work for me, make corn, potatoes, and take care of my wigwam." When confronted with the possibility that the black student might not like her work, the Indian pupil noted that "I give her one year try; if she can't work, I throw her away and get another wife." Such comments reflect the native pupils' appreciation of the work ethic of black females enrolled at Hampton. But they do not provide evidence of interracial marriages.[20]

Love affairs between Indian and black students did take place, although vigilant faculty members carefully monitored all contact between the races. Hamptonians who dared to fall in love with members of the other race during their stay risked expulsion. During 1888, three Indians--Josephine McCarthy (Standing Rock Sioux), Jennie Ampetu (Assiniboin), and Cora Rulo (Sioux)--all dated black men. When faculty members learned of their "midnight strolls" they curtailed the trio's "criminal conduct" and moved quickly to make an example of Hampton's interracial couples.

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[20]Ibid., 77.

Armstrong expelled two of the black students and advised the third not to return. He then dismissed Jennie Ampetu and Josephine McCarthy. One instructor later reported that McCarthy was expelled because of her "childish willfulness" and her "stubborn defiance of rules and order . . . especially in connection with the boys." The faculty member, however, made no mention of the interracial affair, but indicated that Ampetu and Rulo had followed McCarthy's example.[21] Hamptonians later learned that Sydney Williams, a black student, had snitched. Once the affair became public knowledge, angry students ostracized the informant, thereby showing their public support for interracial intimacy.[22]

Despite Hampton officials' assertions to the contrary, male Indians also romanced black women during their stay. James Paypay (Cheyenne River Sioux), who came to Hampton with his wife Antoinette in 1886, was later confined to the Shellbanks Farm after he and his love interest, a black woman attending Hampton, had been "detected in immoral actions." School officials, thinking that they had ended the extramarital romance, later discovered that the

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[21]Josephine McCarthy, "Record of Returned Indians," 109, HUA; biographical data from Josephine McCarthy, Jennie Ampetu, and Cora Rulo's SFs, HUA.

[22]"Minutes of Faculty Meetings," August 15, 1888, HUA; "Discipline Files, 1887/88," 214, 310, HUA; Donal Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923 (Urbana, 1995), 168-69.

adulterous student attempted to "repeat his previous misconduct and establish proper intimacy" with the young woman.[23]

Other Indians romanced black women after leaving Hampton. George Bushotter (Oteri), a Lower Brulè Sioux, excelled at Hampton. After his 1885 departure, instructors encouraged the promising Indian to study for the ministry. Later that same year, George enrolled in the Episcopal Theological Seminary located in Alexandria, Virginia. Hampton authorities later reported that Bushotter's lack of classical languages forced him to leave the seminary. Rev. John J. Gravatt told a different story. The minister reported that George had been "visiting" a young black woman. Apparently, Bushotter met the woman while conducting religious services for black families who lived near the seminary. The affair went unnoticed until the love-struck theology student created a scandal when he asked the woman to marry him. When instructors at the seminary learned of Bushotter's interracial love affair and marriage plans, they promptly expelled him.[24] One Indian student, William

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[23]"Discipline Files 1888/89," HUA; "Alphabetical Lists of Indian Boys," 144-45, HUA.

[24]Twenty-Two Years' Work, 340-41; Rev. J.J. Gravatt, Port Royal, VA, April 29, 1889, to CMF, HI, in Folsom -- Correspondence Received (1889), HUA; Raymond J. DeMaille, "George Bushotter: The First Lakota Ethnographer," in American Indian Intellectuals, Ed. Margot Liberty, (St. Paul, MN, 1978), 93. DeMaille was not aware of Bushotter's black lover. Two other Indian students, Charles Martine (Apache) and Alex Payer (Winnebago), married black women.

Murdock Chisholm (Chippewa) married Maude Hatchet, a black Hampton student from Prince Edward County, Virginia.[25]

Female Indians also fell in love with, and later married, black men.[26] A few love affairs between female Indians and black Hamptonians also blossomed into marriage. Genevieve Big Goose, a Ponca from Oklahoma, attended Hampton from 1905 to 1911. Although her file is now missing, Ida Mae Burning (Oneida) informed Helen Townsend that Genevieve Big Goose "married a colored boy. Heard he was a Hampton student."[27] Nancy Coleman (Eastern Band Cherokee), a Hampton pupil of mixed ancestry, also fell in love during her stay. After graduating in 1917, she enrolled in Hampton's postgraduate course and eventually graduated from Dixie Hospital's nursing program in 1921. Hampton officials later learned that Coleman married Ernest Sylvester Thornton, a black Hampton graduate from Atlanta, Georgia.[28]

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[25]"Report After Leaving Hampton Institute," in William Chisholm's SF, HUA; William Chisholm, Cloquet, MN, December 27, 1919, to CWA, HI, in SF, HUA; Maude Hatchet's SF, HUA. Both Lindsey and Tingey mistakenly accept W. David Owl's contention that no male Indians married black women.

[26]Four Female pupils married black men after leaving Hampton. See the student files of Grace Bunn (Shinnecock), Mary Charley (Absentee Shawnee), Maude Goodwin (Chippewa), and Victoria Wabashaw (Santee Sioux).

[27]Ida Mae Burning, Pittsfield, MA, to "My Dear Winona Mother" [Helen Townsend], March 8, 1913, in Ida's SF, HUA.

[28]Nancy Coleman and Ernest Thornton, Biography Sheets, SFs, HUA.

The Thorntons moved to North Brookfield, Massachusetts, where they managed a farm for a local church.[29]

Most of these biracial associations, especially between Indian and black students attending Hampton, took place after Congress abolished the school's annual appropriation. No longer needing to mollify critics of the school's biracial experiment, Hampton officials integrated almost every aspect of school life after 1912. Increased racial contact at the school naturally culminated in interracial dating. Moreover, the teachers who had so carefully monitored relations between the races before 1912 now actively promoted racial cooperation and interaction. Such a change of heart was, at least in part, caused by declining Indian enrollment and the abolition of the separate Indian department. As a result, school officials no longer intervened to break up budding romances between Indian and black scholars. But then most faculty and staff probably never realized the frequency of interracial love affairs at Hampton in the first place.

Indian and black Hamptonians also befriended one another. James McCoy (Pawnee) died at Hampton in July 1889.

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[29]Another pupil, Elsie Greene Doxtater (Seneca), fell in love with a black classmate, Lewis B. Williams, whom she married. Teachers later learned of the interracial marriage when a family friend informed them that Elsie decided not to return to school because "she got acquainted with one of the students by the name of Williams." See Abbie Doxtator, Gowanda, NY, October 20, 1916, to Miss Townsend, in SF, HUA; Elsie Doxtater's Biography Sheet, SF, HUA.

While suffering from a debilitating lung disease, McCoy "asked to see special friends, colored quite as often as Indian."[30] Another student, Ecorruptaha (Looking Around), a Mandan from Fort Berthold Agency, also battled tuberculosis while at Hampton. When the Mandan pupil's health began to deteriorate, Hampton officials asked two friends, White Breast (Mandan) and a black student to care for their schoolmate.[31]

It was not uncommon for Indian and black students to establish strong bonds of friendship. Sarah Walker (Gros Ventre) and Sarah Inge, a black graduate and teacher in the Danville, Virginia, public schools, kept in touch after Inge's departure from the campus. Hampton officials even allowed Sarah Walker to visit her black friend during the summer of 1885 instead of working in New England. Walker recalled that Inge "very kindly invited me to spend the summer, but I could only get permission to spend a month." The friends stayed busy. "I went to a good many young peoples' sociables, broom drills, calico parties, and suppers at the church every Monday night," she reported. After returning to Hampton, Sarah noted that "everything

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[30]SW 18 (August 1889), clipping in McCoy's SF, HUA.

[31]Ecorruptaha's Biography Sheet, SF, HUA; BTW, "Incidents of Indian Life At Hampton," SW 9 (September 1880), 93.

looked very lonely here after such a good time down there."[32]

Black Hamptonians also recalled befriending Indians. Robert Russa Moton, reflecting on his school days at Hampton, recalled Booker T. Washington's 1885 visit. Following Washington's address that prompted the biracial gathering to erupt in spontaneous applause (something that never happened during chapel services), Moton wrote: "We had some Indian friends who used to come to our rooms after meetings of this sort. I recall now that until 'taps,' some eight or ten of us, with our Indian friends, discussed the speech. One of the latter, John Archambeau [Crow Creek Sioux], remarked to the group that the only fault he found with Booker T. Washington was the fact that he was not an Indian."[33]

Moton later reported how different it was for him to instruct Indian students. "I was surprised to find how hard it was for many Indians to adapt themselves to the customs of the white man, for they thought the old way, their way, better and in many cases gave good reasons to support their views. Their opinion, for example, about the white man's religion was that he preached one thing and frequently practices another; that he preached human brotherhood, for

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[32]S.W. [Sarah Walker], "Visit to a Colored Friend," SW 15 (November 1886), 117; Twenty-Two Years' Work, 206-207.

[33]Moton, Finding A Way Out, 65-67.

instance, while very few whites . . . actually practiced human brotherhood."[34]

Teaching Sunday School proved especially troublesome for the black educator. Although successful with black students, Moton found it difficult to make progress with the native pupils. "They agreed that the point was well taken, but frequently I would find some pupil raising his hand--sometimes a girl, who I thought, was paying no attention to what was going on--and she would ask why Christian white people had cheated the Indians." The young teacher could not answer such searching questions because he frequently agreed with his students' opinions.[35]

Indian and black students also collaborated to defy Hampton's strict rules. On Sundays, recalcitrant black and Indian pupils gathered in the nearby National Military Cemetery to drink and smoke with soldiers recuperating at the local veteran's hospital. Thomas McAlpine, the superintendent of the cemetery, wrote to his superiors to complain about the weekly nuisance. "On every pleasant Sunday afternoon," wrote McAlpine, "a miscellaneous crowd (composed of Indians, Negroes, young white rowdies and soldiers) collects in the Cemetery, and order and decorum cannot be preserved." The situation became so intolerable that McAlpine ordered two laborers to serve guard duty on

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[34]Moton, Finding A Way Out, 123.

[35]Moton, Finding A Way Out, 125-26.

Sundays. This action, however, generated problems. McAlpine noted that "a Sioux Indian of the Normal School, will not allow himself to be spoken to, by a Negro guard & c."[36]

Occasionally, Indian and black students joined forces to have fun. Following an unexpected snowfall in January 1879, the "aboriginal sons of America" and "immigrated sons of Africa" organized an impromptu snowball fight.[37] One eyewitness to the encounter recalled, "The exact cause of it, as of many other notable engagements is not known; but that a grand snowball fight did occur, is an historical fact."[38]

The mock battle began as Indians and blacks took up opposite ends of the snow-covered plain between Academic Hall and the boys' dormitories. Through the middle of the plain ran a broad road that both sides valiantly struggled

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[36]Thomas D. McAlpine, Supt., National Military Cemetery, Hampton, VA, 4/26/1888, to Col. G.B. Dandy, Depot Q.M., Washington, D.C. [copy], Indian Affairs, Assistant Quartermaster's Office Box, Corr. Frissell File, HUA.

[37]David Wallace Adams, perceives the event as one example of the ways faculty members diffused potential racial hostility at the school. Lindsey contends the impromptu fights exemplified collective racial violence. I believe, however, that the students initiated the escapade to have fun and relieve the boredom of classes. Adams, "Education In Hues: Red and Black at Hampton Institute, 1878-1893," South Atlantic Quarterly 76 (Spring 1977), 170-71; Lindsey, Indians and Blacks at Hampton Institute, 158-59.

[38]T.T.B. [T. Bryce], "Snow, Snow, Beautiful Snow!," SW 8 (February 1879), 21.

to possess. The impartial observer reported, "The colored troops fought nobly," but were unable to rout their adversaries. As for the Indians, "they fought in their usual way, and with great bravery; but were apparently astonished at the novel tactics of their enemies."
The black students, many of whom recently studied ancient history, attempted to conquer the Indians by arranging themselves in the shape of a Macedonian phalanx. Lacking both spears and shields, however, the black shock troops had to abandon their plans following a barrage of frozen projectiles the Indians hurled at them.[39]

The Indian students adopted a different approach. Native foot soldiers always avoided frontal assaults, fought more independently, and repeatedly attacked the flanks of their enemy. Bryce reported that "their frontier education was also noticeable in their economy of ammunition: and in several charges the colored boys had to fall back to make new snowballs, while the Indians had several rounds tucked under their left arms." When snow became scarce, Indian students improvised by substituting half-frozen mud for snowballs. "The rule on both sides," noted the teacher, seemed to be "wherever you see a head, hit it."
After both sides expended their energies and developed a good deal of mutual respect for their courageous adversaries, the combatants withdrew to clean up and regroup

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[39]Ibid., 21.

for "a joint attack on cornbread and molasses." Bryce concluded his interesting commentary by noting that "nowhere else south of the late Mason and Dixon's line, did Jack Frost see a good-natured snowball fight between black men, who had recently been slaves, on one side, and red men, who had still more recently been savages, on the other, both of whom were trying to learn what was good of the white man's ways."[40]

Racial Tension At Hampton

Tensions did surface between the two races, more than Hampton's faculty and administrators liked to admit. But a great deal of potential racial hostility was avoided because those Indian pupils who disliked blacks avoided Hampton in favor of all-Indian boarding schools such as Carlisle or Haskell. Moreover, most of Indians and blacks attending the school ultimately learned to accept diversity as something positive. The longer one remained at Hampton, it seemed, the more one appreciated members of the other race.

On occasion, however, some native pupils expressed their dissatisfaction with Hampton's biracial environment. Gertrude Provo (Omaha) left the school one month after her arrival in 1908. Later reports suggested that Provo abruptly withdrew from the institution due to homesickness and "principally to the fact that she is in a school with so

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[40]Ibid., 21.

many colored students and so few Indian students."[41] Nellie Roberts (Pawnee) also took issue with the fact she attended a predominantly black institution. Surprisingly, however, she never complained about the school's racial climate during her stay. In fact, her father, Rush Roberts (Pawnee), had also attended Hampton. After leaving the school, Roberts married C. K. Templeton, a white lawyer and asked Hampton authorities to drop her from the school's correspondence rolls. "I am an American Indian," she noted, "and as such, I do not wish to have [any] misunderstanding about my children's heritage."[42]

Some Indians deliberately violated Hampton's rules because they did not want to associate with blacks. John Payer Johnson, a Winnebago student expelled from Hampton in 1909 for "unsatisfactory conduct," later wrote that he deliberately violated school rules because he could never "quite subscribe to, let alone accept, the vague principles so unceasingly preached at Hampton." Johnson also informed school authorities that their annual letter was "a constant reminder that I once was a luckless student at Hampton, and it serves only to intrude upon the simple pleasure of my

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[41]Gertrude Provo, Biography Sheet, in SF, HUA; Elizabeth Hyde, HI, November 20, 1908, to Miss Herron [copy], in SF, HUA.

[42]Nellie Roberts, "Report After Leaving Hampton Institute," in SF, HUA; Nellie Roberts, Pawhuska, Oklahoma, December 8, 1910, to Miss Townsend, HI; Nellie Roberts, Pawhuska, Oklahoma, January 23, 1943, to "Dear Friends," HI, letters in SF, HUA.

humble Christmas each year." After telling Hampton's correspondence department to drop his name from their mailing lists and never to contact him again, Johnson declared that "I am clearly out of sympathy with the falsity of ideals and practices that placed me, an innocent Indian, in Hampton, a Negro Institution."[43]

Joseph Metoxen (Oneida) also attacked the school's biracial atmosphere. He informed George P. Phenix, Hampton's vice-principal, that "I did not play basketball with the colored boys, because if you know they have a distinct fragrance all their own." Metoxen reported that "I played with them once, and I almost throwed up all over my dinner, so I thought it might be for the benefit of my health not to play with them in basketball anyway. If you do not believe this play basketball and let them rub against your body." Metoxen ended his letter by mentioning that he told his sister to go to Haskell Institute instead of Hampton. In the future he would also discourage others from attending a black school.[44]

Indian parents occasionally expressed concerns about potentially hostile race relations at Hampton, especially following the loss of the school's government appropriation in 1912. Mary Eckinandoah (Oneida), Clayton Laymon's

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[43]John Payer Johnson, Greenwood, WI, December 19, 1926, to Hampton Institute, SF, HUA.

[44]Joseph Metoxen, West DePere, WI, April 9, 1911, to George P. Phenix, HI, in SF, HUA.

mother, wrote: "Will you please find a place in the country for my son Clayton Laymon, as I hear the Negroes are getting hostile toward the few Indians there. I fear they are going to get killed as they are going to mob them there." Hampton officials followed Mary's wishes. Laymon spent the summer of 1922 working at Camp Red Cloud in Brackney, Pennsylvania. He left Hampton after the summer and later studied cartooning at the Lockwood Art School in Kalamazoo, Michigan.[45]

Elsie Mae Scanandore (Seneca), the daughter of Ellen Crouse (Seneca) and Joel Scanandore (Oneida), both former Hampton students, wrote George Phenix in the fall of 1923 to explain why she had decided not to return to the school. "I understood all of the Indian boys were remaining north and I knew of no students coming. I heard from several of the Indian girls and they said they were not returning because since Miss Townsend left we would no doubt be thrown in, more or less, with the colored girls in the dormitories." Rather than return to the overwhelmingly black school, the Indian pupil decided to study nursing in Philadelphia.[46]

Following his 1890 graduation from Hampton, Robert Russa Moton accepted a job as an assistant to Charles Freeland, Hampton's commandant. Moton also agreed to reside

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[45]Mrs. Mary Eckinandoah, Sioux Falls, SD, April 22, 1922, to Caroline Andrus, HI, in Clayton Laymon's SF, HUA.

[46]Elsie Scanandore, Media, PA, September 22, 1923, to Dr. George Phenix, HI, in SF, HUA.

in the Wigwam, the Indian boys' dormitory. The building's Indian residents, however, protested the change. Beginning in 1885, one native scholar was given the responsibility of caring for the Wigwam.[47] Two years later, Indian janitors had replaced black janitors in the residence hall. These "intelligent and responsible" student leaders supervised the dorms and were responsible for the proper care of their building. Walter Battice (Sac and Fox), Charles Doxon (Onondaga), John Bruyier (Crow Creek Sioux) and Thomas Sloan (Omaha) had all held the position before 1890. Armstrong, however, decided to scrap the arrangement after a Wigwam janitor, John Bruyier, was caught smoking on January 14, 1889, a crime he was charged to prevent. Believing that foxes were guarding the hen house, stunned faculty members voted to increase supervision of the boys' residence hall. Naturally, Indian pupils recognized that lax enforcement of school rules would end with Moton's appointment.[48]

Indian students who wanted to police themselves "respectfully" petitioned to have Captain Moton removed from his new position. The boys disliked him, they told Armstrong, "not because they have any feelings against him

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[47]SW 14 (November 1885), 115.

[48]John Bruyier, January 1889, "Alphabetical Lists of Indian Boys," 40-41, HUA; Charles Doxon, however, attempted to enforce the rules. One faculty member commented that Charles "is not very poplar with the boys . . . on account of his strict work as janitor. He holds the boys to the rules." See November 20, 1888, in "Alphabetical Lists of Indian Boys," 58-59, HUA.

personally but because they do not like to have a Colored person over them." The Indian Council requested permission to have the Indian "boys take care of themselves more, and also learn to govern themselves." The petitioners informed Armstrong: "When we asked for our Indian Company it was with a view that we might have officers among ourselves, who could take care of the boys in the Wigwam, and so not need any school officer in the building . . . keeping Capt. Moton in the building shows very plainly that you do not trust the Indian officers. That you do not think them able to govern and take care of the Indian boys."[49]

The well-crafted petition, although seeming to indicate a concern for equal treatment, was really a carefully contrived plan to regain control of the Wigwam. The Indian Council encouraged Armstrong to "let the boys take care of themselves more, and also learn to govern themselves." Moreover, the pupils also reminded Armstrong that the Indian Company was established to enable the native students to police themselves "so not to need any school officer in the building besides them." To place Captain Moton in charge of them, argued the students, demonstrated Armstrong's distrust of the Indian Company's officers. "If our own officers are not able to take care of the boys and can't be trusted to

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[49]Proceedings of the Wigwam Council, June 15, 1888, HUA; Minutes of the Meeting of the Wigwam Council, 1890-91; Petition, Indian Council to Armstrong, 1890-91, SCA Corr: Indian Affairs Box, HUA; Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 128-29.

look after their own people in the Wigwam . . . surely you won't trust them when they go out West to lead their own people, where they must stand alone and fight it out by themselves," noted the Indians. The protestors also reminded the general that "the colored boys have no school officers in their buildings. You trust the colored boys who are officers, and their janitors to take care of the rest. Why can't you trust us?" The students concluded their petition with a stinging rebuke: "If our own officers cannot be trusted to look after the boys while here, where can we learn to govern and lead our people in the right way. That is what we came here for. We get our education here, and here is where we learn to govern ourselves. We cannot do this unless we have the chance." Armstrong, however, ignored the minor mutiny and chose not to respond. In the end, Captain R. R. Moton remained the dormitory supervisor and life in the Wigwam soon returned to normal.[50]

Fighting

Booker T. Washington remarked that "it was a constant delight to me to note the interest which the colored

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[50]Petition, Indian Council to Armstrong, signed by John Pattee (Cheyenne River Sioux), John Whistler (Sac and Fox), Andrew Johnson (Potawatomi), Norman Robertson (Sisseton Sioux), and Charles Rulo (Ponca), in SCA Correspondence: Indian Affairs Box, HUA; Tingey, "Indians and Blacks Together," 196-97. Lindsey sees this as another example of racial hostility between Indians and blacks at Hampton. It is clear, however, that the controversy had much more to do with the autonomy and independence of the Indian students than it did with race. Moton, a school employee, would enforce the rules Indian janitors had previously ignored.

students took in trying to help the Indians in every way possible. There were a few of the colored students who felt that the Indians ought not to be admitted to Hampton, but they were in the minority."[51] Charles Soman (Menominee), reflecting the Indian point of view, noted that "I think these colored boys at this school are very good to some of the Indian boys and I think most of the colored boys like me and I like a great many of them very much but some of these Indian boys that don't like colored boys try to fight with the colored boys but some of the colored boys don't fight with Indians, and they don't attend to what the Indian boys say."[52] Both statements show a hidden level of racial hostility lurking below an apparent aura of calm at Hampton. Although dormant, racial tension could, given the right circumstances, burst into racial violence.

Faculty members moved quickly to repair the damage of racial incidents at Hampton. In September 1893, Charles Parker, a black Hampton student, was suspended from the institution for one year following an altercation with James Patterson (Seneca). During the fight, Parker "struck the boy with some weapon which cut a gash in his head about 1 1/2" long and about a 1/4 of an inch deep." To make matters

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[51]BTW, Up From Slavery, 72-73.

[52]Charles Soman, "Scholarship Letters," SW 11 (May 1882), in SF, HUA.

even worse, school officials later learned that Parker had waited for Patterson in order catch him by surprise.[53]

Minor altercations, especially when personal dislike and not race was the motive, were quickly resolved. Combatants were encouraged to shake hands and leave as friends.[54] Moton remarked that "I found that it was frequently much better, instead of giving boys demerits for personal differences, to take the time to lead them both, if possible, to see their mistakes." He also sought "to bring them to the point where they would be willing to apologize to the other." Diffusing such racial incidents at Hampton deeply influenced Moton. He later wrote, "I have always felt that much of the friction between races, as well as between nations and individuals, is due to misunderstanding, that if people would take the time to understand one another and get one another's point of view, they would frequently find that things are not as bad as they imagine."[55]

In December 1891 a snowball fight erupted between blacks and Indians. Moton reported that the altercation between the black students of the Stone building and Indian residents of the Wigwam got out of hand. Moton called off the scuffle when "bricks were thrown by both colored and

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[53]Robert R. Moton to Miss Burke, September 18, 1893, Moton Papers, HUA; "Discipline Book," September 12, 1893, HUA; Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 157-58.

[54]"Discipline Files, 1898/99," 91, HUA.

[55]Moton, Finding A Way Out, 143.

Indian boys."[56] Hampton authorities later identified John Block (Caddo) as the chief culprit. One teacher reported that "Block represents the Indian who has been all his life in contact with whites," where he presumably picked up his anti-black attitudes.[57] Hampton authorities expelled Block when they confirmed that he intentionally hurled bricks at Charles Stokes, a black student, "without provocation, so as to endanger his [Stokes's] life."[58] Apparently, the disgraced Caddo later regretted the incident. Following his return to Oklahoma, Block informed Cora Folsom, "I've realized I had done wrong and know that it is the best school I can enter anywhere." The wayward pupil promised to do his "level best in everything" if allowed to return to Hampton. School officials, however, refused to give Block a second chance.[59]

James Garfield, a Yankton Sioux pupil, caused a commotion when he refused to allow Major Arthur Boykin, a black Hampton employee, to escort him to the school's guard house. During the ensuing struggle, Garfield hit Boykin

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[56]"Minutes of Faculty Meetings," December 5, 1891, HUA.

[57]SW 19 (November 1890), in John Block's SF, HUA. Helen Ludlow reported that students from Indian Territory (Oklahoma) occasionally demonstrated prejudice of color during their stay. Ludlow attributed this to students coming from an area where Indians have held slaves. Ten Years' Work, 13; BTW, Up From Slavery, 72.

[58]"Hampton Discipline Book, 1890/91," 207, HUA.

[59]John Block, Cheyenne Agency, Darlington, Oklahoma Territory, October 29, 1892, to CMF, HI, in SF, HUA.

with a stick. The angry Hampton official responded to the assault by striking the Yankton pupil with his night stick. School officials considered the case and convicted Garfield of committing a premeditated assault against a school officer representing the state of Virginia and sentenced the recalcitrant student to thirty days in the county jail.[60]

Fights, although extremely rare, also erupted among the female students. Lula Owl Gloyne, an Eastern Band Cherokee, recalled a minor altercation between two female pupils, one Indian and the other black: "I remember one girl slapping another girl one time and some of the other girls separating them. This Lavinia Hereford was the girl, and I remember her saying that we didn't belong there, that it was their school."[61]

Despite the minor altercations between Indians and blacks at Hampton, Moton asserted that "there has never been any serious manifestation of unpleasant relations between the two races."[62] On the contrary, Moton praised the school's biracial atmosphere.

> The very diversities of the two races under instruction at Hampton proved, in many respects, to be helps rather than hindrances to their

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[60]"Minutes of the Faculty Meetings," July 15, 1887, HUA; "Discipline Files, 1886/87," 303, HUA; Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 160.

[61]Lula Owl Gloyne, Joseph Tingey's recorded interview at Cherokee, North Carolina, August 3, 1974, cited in Tingey, "Indians and Blacks Together," 226.

[62]Moton, Finding A Way Out, 144.

> development. Each served in many instances as a daily lesson to the other in the problems and difficulties of life. The Negro student learned that he did not have a monopoly of the troubles incident to the effort to rise; that his is not the only race that faces a struggle in securing the rights and privileges of an advanced civilization. The Indian student saw the arts and practices of this civilization acquired and adapted by a race whose development corresponded more nearly to his own. He caught the inspiration of the manly endeavor and sturdy self-reliance that have characterized the Indian graduates of Hampton in all their subsequent endeavors among their own people.[63]

The experience changed Moton's life. "Through all my contact of thirty-one years as a student and worker at Hampton," he recalled, "it has become increasingly apparent that the ground of racial adjustment lies, not in the emphasis of faults and differences between races, but rather in the discovery of likeness and virtues which make possible their mutual understanding and cooperation."[64]

Indians attending Hampton had a great deal to say about their education. Some, particularly those who stayed for an extended period, found the multiethnic nature of the school beneficial. Others, especially those from Indian Territory (Oklahoma) who associated with whites and whose ancestors possessed slaves, disliked Hampton's biracial program. Moreover, racial friction at the school decreased dramatically following the loss of the school's government appropriation. Hampton officials, no longer needing to

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[63]Moton, Finding A Way Out, 145-46.

[64]Moton, Finding A Way Out, 146.

placate bigoted lawmakers who controlled the purse strings, encouraged Indians and blacks to recognize their similarities. Classes, athletic teams, military companies, dining halls, and campus organizations were now integrated. In the process, students came to appreciate different cultures and the diversity in American society. Like Emma Frazier Tibbets, Indians and blacks at Hampton had learned a valuable lesson: they acquired a general knowledge of people. The returned students found the experience especially valuable after leaving Hampton to make their way in the world.

CHAPTER X

A Shadow of its Former Self: The Demise of Hampton's Indian Program

The repeated efforts to save Hampton's annual appropriation convinced Hampton officials that they had to publicize their school's achievements. They assured government officials that there was "no difficulty from race prejudice" at Hampton. Armstrong often wrote that "the Negro is a help to the Indian as an example, by his habits of study and labor, of obedience, of behavior, of general decency, and by his knowledge of English."[1] Despite such efforts, the presence of blacks at Hampton made it a vulnerable target for funding cuts in an era of heightened racism and negrophobia. Federal appropriations enabled Hampton officials to welcome 120 Indians at the government's expense. Despite the fact that school officials supplemented many of the actual costs of educating and housing Indians with private donations, some members of Congress (Democrats who wanted Indians educated in

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[1]SCA, in RCIA (1880), House Executive Document no. 1, 46th Congress, 3d sess., serial 1959, 185.

reservation schools located in the West) argued that Hampton wasted federal funds. Rather than let such attacks undermine the school's educational programs, Hampton authorities defended the institution's record and wisely cultivated powerful supporters who consistently lobbied government officials on Hampton's behalf.[2]

Western congressmen frequently led the charge to cancel Hampton's annual appropriation. A few representatives, such as James Webb Throckmorton, a Texas Democrat, did not believe American Indians could be educated. Throckmorton declared that, "You can educate an Indian as easy as a rattlesnake."[3] Other representatives fought to have Indian students trained in western schools, thus providing jobs and securing federal monies for their own constituents. Increasing dissatisfaction with off-reservation boarding schools, especially those located in the East, also influenced lawmakers.[4]

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[2]Margaret Muir, "Indian Education at Hampton Institute and Federal Indian Policy: Solutions to the Indian Problem," (Master's Thesis, Brown University, 1970), 48; David Wallace Adams, Education for Extinction (Lawrence, KS, 1995), 326-28. Senator Henry L. Dawes, Alice Fletcher, Albert K. Smiley, Sara Kinney, and Herbert Welsh all defended Hampton.

[3]U.S. Congress, House, 49th Congress, 1st sess., March 17, 1886, Congressional Record, vol. 17, part 2, 2463-2475; Holman Committee Report, House Report no. 1076, 49th Cong., 1st sess., serial 2438, 14-22. Throckmorton was a brigadier general for the Confederate Army. Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927 (Washington, D.C., 1928), 1615-16.

[4]SCA, SW 15 (April 1886), 37; Muir, "Indian Education at Hampton Institute," 50, 60; Adams, Education for

Hampton officials pulled out all the stops in a desperate attempt to retain the federal appropriation in 1912 when John Hall Stephens of Texas, the Democratic chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, dropped Hampton from the annual Indian Appropriations Bill.[5] Hollis Frissell, attempting to calm the fears of his school's critics, reported:

> The presence in the school life of Indians, while it gives rise to some complications and makes separate quarters and tables necessary, has given opportunity for the study of race problems in a broader way than would have been possible otherwise. The contact of the races has been a distinct gain to both. Mutual tolerance and interest have been developed; especially have the Indians been the gainers from contact with a body of selected Negro youth who are much more accustomed to habits of regular industry and yet are not too far advanced, as most white boys would be, to sympathize with the difficulties which their red brothers have to encounter.[6]

Hampton officials refused to go down without a fight. Frissell wrote Stephens to remind the Texas representative that Congress had retained Hampton's appropriation during the 1890s when funding for contract schools ceased. "It was

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Extinction, 326. Changing political fortunes, especially the resurgence of the Democratic party, played an important role in the Indian program's demise.

[5]SW 41 (May 1912), 165. Stephens represented Texas in Congress from 1897 until 1917. When his party gained control of the Sixty-Second Congress in 1912, Stephens was appointed chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs. Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1564.

[6]"Indians at Hampton," Report of Principal to Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1878-1916," 19, HUA; Sydney Dodd Frissell, "Hampton: Training Station For Two Races," Survey 30 (June 7, 1913), 325-31.

felt because of the good work that the school had done, and the somewhat remarkable character of the young men and women who had gone out from it, that an exception should be made in the case of Hampton." He also assured Stephens that "Hampton is in no way competing with the western schools; but taking a few of those who have been prepared in those schools, and training them in agriculture, trades, and domestic industries, to be the teachers and industrial leaders of their own people."[7]

J.D. Eggleston, Virginia's Superintendent of Public Instruction, also entered the fray to support Hampton's Indian program. "I was most favorably impressed with the spirit of the institution and the character of its work," wrote Eggleston. "It seems to me a rare combination of cultural, industrial and teacher-training work and equipment, such as I have seen at no other institution." Only Hampton, he concluded, could thoroughly prepare Indian youth for future leadership positions among their own people.[8]

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[7]HBF, to Honorable J. H. Stephens, Chairman of House Committee on Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., February 8, 1912 [copy]; Indian Affairs: Appropriations & Funds Box, "Appropriations for Indian Education File," HUA.

[8]J.D. Eggleston, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Richmond, VA, February 15, 1912, to Honorable John H. Stephens, Chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., [copy], in Indian Affairs--House of Representatives, U.S. Senate Correspondence Box, HUA.

William Atkinson Jones, Virginia's Democratic representative in Congress from 1891 to 1918, also fought to restore Hampton's government funding. Jones defended Hampton's record and reminded fellow representatives that "there is not . . . a reservation school which attempts even to fit its scholars for teaching." Jones closed his remarks by informing his colleagues that "there is no school in the United States which has the same appliances and which can afford the same facilities for giving Indian children normal, industrial, and agricultural education."[9]

Jones attempted to reassure fellow Democrats that their racial fears regarding Indians and blacks were unfounded. "I have heard it whispered around that there were negroes educated at Hampton school as well as Indians," declared Jones. "I wish to say in this respect to this that whilst this is true, it is also true that the negro students and the Indians occupy different dormitories and are not even brought together in the mess halls." Moreover, "the Indians have never objected to the presence of negroes at this school . . . [and] there has never been the slightest friction between the two races in all these years at Hampton." Hoping to assuage the exaggerated stories of racial integration at the school, Jones concluded by

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[9]United States Congress, House, 62nd Congress, 2nd session, April 8, 1912, Congressional Record vol. 48, part 5, 4455; Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1164.

reminding the representatives that "there has never been complaint on the part of the Indian because of the fact they meet in the classrooms, the shops, and the fields."[10]

Chairman Stephens, however, insisted that Indians should attend western boarding schools such as Sherman Institute, Haskell Institute, and Chilocco. "Why humiliate the Indian boys and girls, our wards and dependents, by educating them in the same schools with negro children?" asked the chairman. Instead of sending native scholars to Hampton, Stephens advocated separating the two races in order to "elevate the red race to the level of the white race" and thereby sparing the Indian the degradation of "sinking him to the low plane of the negro race."[11]

Samuel Walker McCall, a Republican from Massachusetts, took issue with Stephens's inflammatory remarks. McCall, who had earlier questioned continuing Hampton's appropriation, announced that "it would be a great mistake to drop this historic institution. It is doing great work for both races."[12] Another congressman, Clarence Benjamin Miller, a Republican from Minnesota, also defended Hampton's record.

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[10]Congressional Record, vol. 48, part 5, 4456.

[11]Congressional Record, vol. 48, part 5, 4457.

[12]Congressional Record. vol. 48, part 5, 4457. McCall, a Dartmouth graduate, served in Congress from 1893 until 1913. He was Massachusetts's governor from 1916 until 1918. Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1249.

> Hampton is performing a great work in the education of the Indian. It is teaching the Indian how to live by his hand and how to train his mind that the brain and the hand may work together. It teaches the Indian to be self-supporting, and in so far as it does this it solves the Indian question. Hampton does more. It trains Indian boys and girls in the art and science of teaching and instructing their kinsmen, teaches them to be teachers, trains them to be instructors. No other Indian school in the world does this. No system of Indian schools is complete without it.[13]

In the end, Charles David Carter, a Chickasaw representative from Oklahoma, persuaded the majority of congressmen to support Stephens's decision. After disavowing any personal prejudice against blacks, Carter asked William Atkinson Jones how he expected to elevate Indians by placing them in mixed-blood schools, a practice outlawed in Virginia. He continued by delivering an impassioned plea for Indian students. "Much has been said first and last about the wonderful things we have done for the Indian," noted Carter. He reminded delegates how the United States, the land of liberty, treated native peoples. Carter recalled a time "when the will of the North American Indian was supreme upon this continent--a time that when his sacred rights were infringed upon he entreated not nor asked for quarter, but rushed out upon the bloody warpath and

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[13]Congressional Record, vol. 48, part 5, 4458. Miller served in Congress from 1909 until 1919. Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1311-12.

raged cruel and relentless war [applause]." But then whites started their "benevolent assimilation steamroller."[14]

Carter then recalled that "the history of the contact of these two races--the red and the white--reveals to us that ever since the great Genoese navigator landed on the sunny shores of San Salvador the white has been demanding and the red has been conceding." He pointed out that Indian peoples had lost their lands, accepted allotments, sent their children off to distant boarding schools, and embraced Christianity. He concluded his speech with a sharp rebuke of Hampton. "The white man has demanded and the Indian has conceded until he has nothing left but his self-respect, and now you come to him with Hampton School and ask him to surrender that self-respect by placing his children on a social equality with an inferior race, a level to which you yourself will not deign descend [Loud Applause]."[15]

Frissell did not let Carter's speech deter him. He assured the congressman that he, too, wanted "to keep the Indian on the highest possible plane." Frissell also noted that he was also opposed "to anything which looks like an amalgamation of the Indian and negro races." He then

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[14]Congressional Record vol. 48, part 5, 4458-59. Carter attended the Chickasaw Manual Training Academy. He later served as auditor of public accounts of the Chickasaw Nation, as a member of the Chickasaw Council, and as Superintendent of the Chickasaw Nation Schools. Carter was elected to Congress in 1907 and remained until 1927. Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 791.

[15]Congressional Record vol. 48, part 5, 4459.

appealed to Carter to allow native pupils to benefit from Hampton's academic and industrial offerings: "I have no wish to keep the Indians here a day beyond the time when they can be better cared for elsewhere, but because we have at Hampton exceptionally fine equipment, a remarkable corps of instructors, and excellent opportunities to give training in trades, domestic sciences, teaching, and agriculture . . . it seems to me very unwise for Congress to withdraw the appropriation for the education of Indians at Hampton."[16] Carter responded by informing Hampton's principal that he had "nothing but the highest commendation for the thoroughness of training given by your institution." He could not, however, "approve a policy that would in any manner, bring the Indian to a plane other than that of absolute equality with his white brother."[17]

After the House of Representatives voted sixty-five to thirty-three in favor of ending the school's annual appropriation, Hampton officials turned their attention to the Senate. American Indian students appealed to Senator Charles Curtis, a Kaw Indian from Kansas, to restore funding

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[16]HBF, May 10, 1912, to Honorable Charles D. Carter, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. [copy]; Indian Affairs: Appropriations & Funds for Indian Education at Hampton Institute, "Appropriations for Indian Education File," HUA.

[17]Charles D. Carter, Fourth District Oklahoma, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., May 11, 1912, to HBF, Hampton, VA, Indian Affairs Students: Appropriations & Funds for Indian Education Box, "Appropriations for Indian Education File," HUA.

for Hampton.[18] The eighty Indians, representing twenty-one tribes, in a petition drafted by teacher Helen Ludlow, assured the senator that "not a single Indian boy or girl at Hampton wishes to go elsewhere. We all plan, so far as we are able, to remain at Hampton, even though we have to work our way through, but we do wish you, and other friends of the Indian to know that we have received at this school much more than we can put into words." The native scholars also addressed questions surrounding Hampton's biracial atmosphere. "We believe that if the Indian is to keep his place in the world, he must learn how to live with other men. He must get from them the best they can give. Surely, the thrifty, hardworking Negro boys and girls at Hampton have much good to give us." In fact, the students' petition also reported that "we know from experience that the Indians who are doing the most to uplift our race have received much of their training through contact with men of other races. Like precious stones they have been made more valuable through hard rubbing." The Indian scholars concluded their plea by reminding Curtis that "nowhere else, except at

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[18]"Hampton Indians Petition to Congress," SW 41 (May 1912), 265-66. Curtis, a Kansas Republican, was elected to both Houses of Congress. He served in the Senate from 1907 until 1913. He was returned to the Senate in 1915 and was elected the Republican whip by his peers. In 1924 Curtis became the Senate majority leader and was later elected Vice-President of the United States. Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 871.

Hampton, can Indian boys and girls receive advantages of industrial, academic, and normal training."[19]

The Senate committee on Indian Affairs voted to restore Hampton's annual appropriation, but a conference committee from both houses eventually voted to cancel support for the school. Frissell believed that Hampton ultimately lost its appropriation due to the "undesirability of mingling Indian and negro students in the same school."[20] In the end, Hampton's critics won the war. Southern and western Democrats, could not, it appeared, forgive the educators' breach of the color line. Armstrong and Frissell had repeatedly battled to retain federal funding for Hampton's biracial training program. Ultimately, school authorities merely succeeded in delaying the inevitable. Self-imposed segregation at Hampton, politically-connected friends of the school, and a steady stream of glowing reports concerning Indian and black relations at Hampton had managed to keep federal monies pouring in for thirty-four years.[21]

Despite losing federal funding for Hampton's Indian program, Frissell remained determined to welcome native pupils who could meet the school's raised admission

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[19]Hampton Indian Students, Hampton Institute, to Honorable Charles Curtis, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C., April 23, 1912 [copy], Indian Affairs, Students: Miscellaneous Information Box, Indian Petition File, HUA.

[20]SW 41 (October 1912), 545-46; "Forty-Fifth Annual Report of the Principal," SW 42 (May 1913), 292.

[21]Adams, Education for Extinction, 326.

standards and afford to pay their own tuition. Unfortunately, fewer Indian students applied for admission with each passing year. Many potential Indian applicants increasingly preferred attending the large Indian-only boarding schools such as Haskell, Chilocco, Santee, and Genoa closer to their western homes. To complicate matters, Hampton officials also lost interest in recruiting Indians. As early as 1905, Frissell announced that the school would no longer dispatch agents in search of promising native students. As a result, in 1912 the eighty-one Indian students in attendance comprised only nine percent of Hampton's student body.[22] The loss of the annual appropriation for Indian pupils accelerated the decline of the once promising biracial experiment. Only forty-four

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[22]SW 34 (November 1905), 579. Francis E. Leupp, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, made it illegal for boarding schools to solicit prospective Indian students in 1908. See SW 37 (December 1908), 646-47. Indian students made up twenty-one percent of Hampton's student body in 1880 (a figure that remained steady during the remainder of the decade). After 1893 the percentage of Indians in attendance dropped to an annual average of sixteen percent. Indians averaged ten percent of the school's student body following HBF's announcement in 1905 that Hampton would no longer dispatch recruiters. SCA, "Annual Report," SW 9 (June 1880), 63-64; SCA, RCIA (1880), House Executive Document no. 1, 46th Cong., 3d sess., serial 1959, 185; SW 19 (June 1890), 66-67; SW 19 (November 1890), 109; HBF, "Annual Report of the Principal," SW 25 (June 1896), 115, 119; SW 32 (November 1903), 567; SW 35 (November 1906), 631; HBF, "Annual Report," SW 37 (May 1908), 302; SW 39 (November 1910), 636; HBF, "Annual Report," SW 41 (May 1912), 299.

Indians (a forty-six percent enrollment decrease) decided to remain at the school for the 1913-1914 academic year.[23]

Although the Indian program faced great obstacles after 1912, Frissell and many of the school's long-tenured faculty were determined to welcome all qualified Indian applicants willing to work their way through the school on the same basis as the black students. Unfortunately, Hampton employees committed to perpetuating Armstrong's biracial educational experiment began to die or retire. James Edgar Gregg, a graduate of Yale Divinity School and an ordained Congregational minister, became Hampton's third principal following Frissell's death in 1917.[24] A short time later, Gregg asked Hampton's vice-principal, George P. Phenix, to critique the status of the school's Indian program. Phenix later reported that "the indications are that Hampton's work for the Indian is coming to an end, except as a few individuals for reasons of sentiment may choose to attend from time to time."[25]

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[23]Indians now comprised five percent of the school's student body. SW 41 (November 1912), 645; HBF, "Annual Report," SW 42 (May 1913), 292-94. From 1913 until 1923 an average of thirty-one Indians attended Hampton each year. SW 47 (June 1918), 285; SW 51 (June 1922), 268.

[24]Donal Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 247-48; Mary Lou Hultgren and Paulette Fairbanks Molin, To Lead and to Serve (Virginia Beach, VA, 1989) 53-55. Helen Ludlow retired as a teacher after thirty-eight years at Hampton in 1910 (she remained on the SW's editorial board until 1918) and Alice Bacon died in 1918. SW 53 (July 1924), 295.

[25]George P. Phenix, "Annual Report," SW 47 (June 1918), 286.

In addition to administrative changes underway at Hampton, curriculum reform also made it increasingly difficult for Indian students to meet Hampton's rigorous admission standards. Professor Paul Hanus of Harvard University visited Hampton during the 1918-1919 academic year. Hanus praised the school's vocational offerings, but he suggested that Gregg transform the Normal School course into a good high school and add an additional two-year course of study for prospective teachers. Before implementing the reforms, Gregg decided to visit various reservations and western boarding schools to better understand the role Indian students would play in Hampton's future.[26] The trip confirmed Gregg's suspicions. He returned convinced that Hampton would not be able to attract Indian scholars without federal funds. He also believed that the large western boarding schools could meet the needs of Indian students. If Hampton was to remain in the business of educating Indians, Gregg felt that the school should serve the needs of eastern tribes, especially the Iroquois and Eastern Band Cherokee.[27]

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[26]Gregg, "Annual Report," SW 48 (May 1919), 308, 322.

[27]Gregg, "Annual Report," SW 49 (June 1920), 273. Gregg also acted on Hanus's recommendations. The Normal School's course of study was expanded to six years and the Agriculture course was replaced by a three-year collegiate program. In addition, the Trade School offerings were revamped so to distribute time between academic and vocational subjects.

Despite Gregg's intention to recruit more Indian pupils, he had realized by 1922 that the effort was no longer worth the cost. In addition, Gregg announced that the Normal School would become a four-year collegiate course beginning in the fall of 1922. Indians would still be welcome at Hampton, but they would be required to meet the higher admission standards. To complicate matters, Caroline Andrus, the faculty member in charge of the school's Indian Department, resigned in protest and was not replaced. Helen Townsend and Elizabeth Hyde, two other long-tenured faculty members, followed Andrus's example the following year.[28] The eleven native American students (including seven Hampton "grandchildren") in attendance in 1923 decided not to return the following year. Hampton's pioneering experiment in biracial education had come to an end.[29]

Between 1878 and 1923, 1,451 Indian students, representing sixty-five tribes, had attended the school. Although Hampton never matched the number of students enrolled in larger Indian-only boarding schools, it had a great impact on the history of American Indian education. The arrival of Richard Henry Pratt's Fort Marion Party in April 1878 encouraged skeptical policymakers to appropriate

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[28]Gregg, "Annual Report," SW 51 (June 1922), 268, 273; Gregg, "Regarding Hampton Indians," SW 51 (August 1922), 393-94; Gregg, "Annual Report," SW 52 (May 1923), 270, 274.

[29]Gregg, SW 52 (May 1923), 270, 274; Gregg, SW (June 1924), 257.

funds for the education of Indian children. Pratt's success later led to the establishment of Carlisle in October 1879 and a host of other off-reservation boarding schools that attempted to copy Hampton's blend of academic and vocational training. Pratt's famous outing system was another program first introduced at Hampton. Armstrong's school also made history by admitting Indian families, an experiment that later encouraged the Women's National Indian Association to start its Homebuilding program. Hampton's greatest legacy was its American Indian alumni. Their trials, tribulations, and successes are forever preserved in the school's fascinating collection of photographic, written, and printed records. Hampton's valuable collection is a lasting testament to the Indian students who struggled to bridge the cultural divides in an era of forced assimilation and racial division.

APPENDIX A:

Hampton's American Indian Students (1878-1923)

1. ABSENTEE-SHAWNEE (10 females, 20 males)

Alford, Charles Reese (Welamiaimo)
Alford, Paul Leon
Alford, Pierrepont (Palagonesemo=Single Voice)
Alford, Thomas Wildcat (Knoahpicila=Single File)
Alford, Thompson Wildcat
Beaver, Jones
Brown, Flora Ann (Migequate)
Charley, Mary
Chisholm, Frank
Clark, James William (Semota)
Conalez, Robert
Delaware, Jane (Yellow Flower)
Foreman, Frank
Hood, Luther (Moshatawibieskaka)
Hood, Riley M.
Hood, Sallie (Sabodabasee)
Hood, Thomas Benjamin
Hunter, Harry
King, John
Perry, Samuel
Shawnee, David (Adopted)
Shawnee, Emaline (Adopted)
Shawnee, Eva (Adopted)
Shawnee, Julia Inez (Adopted)
Shawnee, Lafayette (Adopted)
Shawnee, Lydia (Adopted)
Shawnee, Rebecca (Adopted)
Tyner, John
Tyner, Rachel Kirk (Nanahewevis)
Wilson, Cooper

2. ALEUT (or BEAVER) (1 male)

Reed, Thomas Butler

3. APACHE (8 females, 13 males)

Behedo, Josephine
Chimal, Etta
Eskiaz, Vincent [Chiricahua Band]
Haozous, Cecil Albert
Holley, Jamie

3. APACHE (CONT.)

Kellogg, Hattie (Naiyah)
Lavender, Fleming
Lavender, Rivers
Longfellow, Alice (Dottahhogaydoh)
Martine, Charles
Martine, Dewey
McIntosh, Robert (Naki)
Naiche, Paul (Nahdeyol)
Nayen, William
Pitulinni, Amy (Rachenatahi)
Shooey, Pauline
Stago, Benjamin (Stago)
Tabischaddie, Irene Mercedes
Tishaspa, Hayden
Toclanny, Sophie
Voorhees, Telma

4. ARAPAHO (3 females, 7 males)

Geary, Cordelia (Redland)
Harrison, Scott (Dechanesed=Walking)
Packard, Harry
Rowlodge, Henry
Seger, Donald Homer (Rock Coming Up)
Sleeper, John Kendrick (Tawanu=Bangs)
Warren, Carrie (Woman Being Heard)
White, Eva (Panasay=Road Woman)
White, John (Hittewah)
White Bear (Wahnakuuu)

5. ARIKARA (9 females, 11 males)

Ahuka, George (White Wolf)
Anderson, Millie (Stakakaa=Lady in Field)
Andrews, Alfred S. (Nuscadit)
Badger, Edward Wilson (Sunukadog=Badger)
Bateman, Guy (Psychie)
Bear, Stella (Stanaha=Buffalo Woman)
Beauchamp, Peter Hayward (Sitting Bull)
Dawson, Anna (Spahananadaka=Wild Rose)
Dawson, Mary (Stashbadu=Chief Enemy Woman)
Gillette, Agnes J. (Skaka or Raven Woman)
Jones, Mason W. (Nados-naukadh)
Karunach, Henry (Sioux Boy)
Laughing Face (Tiscaufh)
Perkins, Fanny E. (Sadigusu=Big Horn Woman)
Rogers, Stella Elizabeth (Stwhsakawa=Cedar Woman)
Sharp Horn, George (Shooting Bear or Hoonooktewan)
Simpson, Albert H.

5. ARIKARA (CONT.)

Sitting Bear, Hilda
Stiles, Lottie Rose (Yellow Wisa or Bear Woman)
Wilkinson, Joseph

6. ASSINIBOIN (2 females)

Ampetu, Jennie (Umbatuyah)
Thompson, Agnes Susan

7. CADDO (1 female, 4 males)

Block, John
Butler, Laura Louise
Dale, William H.
Hendricks, Fritz (Hainestiets=Stunted Growth)
Seartstste, Edward French (Seartstste=Boy)

8. CAYUGA (8 females, 4 males)

Charles, Ada Lily
Charles, Ethel Laurene
Gordon, Leslie George (Ganiduwana)
Jackson, Dennie (Jaseah)
Jamison, Franklin Francis
Jamison, Grace Lenora
Kenjockerty, Amelia
Pierce, Agnes Thea
Pierce, Elsa Bertha (On the Other Side of a Rose)
Pierce, Rogene Alverson
Pierce, Ruby Mae
Seneca, Jacob Stanley

9. CHEROKEE (16 females, 46 males)
[Eastern Band unless noted]

Bird, Eli
Blythe, Arch
Blythe, Jarret (Jaldijula)
Blythe, Sampson Joseph (Fox)
Blythe, Stella
Blythe, William Henry
Bradley, Morgan
Brankham (or Branham), Clarence Stein [VA]
Climbing Bear, Deleskee
Coleman, Calvin
Coleman, Nancy Mary Ellen
Crowe, Sally
Crowe, Wesley Russell
Downing, John D. [Adopted Wichita from OK]

9. CHEROKEE (CONT.)

Dunlap, Alice
Hill, Sogayah Maul
Lambert, Hugh J.
Lambert, Hugh Nolan
Lambert, Jesse
Lambert, Thomas
Laussy, Henry
Lee, Alonzo
Lee, Julia
Lee, Nancy
Lee, Nora
Long, William West
Owl, Agnes
Owl, Frel McDonnell
Owl, George Allen
Owl, Henry McLean
Owl, Jonah
Owl, Lula (Louisiana)
Owl, Noya
Owl, Theodore Addison (Theodore O. Reed)
Owl, Thomas Stringfield
Owl, Walter David
Ross, Josiah
Saunooke, Nancy
Sawyer, Allen
Smith, David McKinley
Smith, Elwood
Smith, Jackson
Smith, Lloyd
Smith, Lottie
Smith, Noah
Smith, Rosa Lena
Sneed, Pieco
Swayney, Arizona (Ahmoyaha)
Swayney, Jesse (Wahhiyah)
Swayney, Lorenzo D.
Taylor, Lizzie
Wahnetah, Samuel Chapman
Wahnetah (or Wahhanette), William
Welch, Lucinda Grace
Welsh, Mark
Wesley, Judas
Wolf, Tinola
Wolfe, Abel
Wolfe, Joseph J.
Wolfe, Margaret Pearlie
Younce, George
Younce, Seymour

10. CHEYENNE (2 females, 16 males)

Bears Heart, James (Nacoista)
Charlton, Howard (Marcuvekist)
Fletcher, John
Fletcher, Joseph (Ihaw=Skunk)
Haag, Frederick (Mahirihu=Big White Man)
Kohoe (or Cohoe), William (Nohonicas)
Little Chief, William (Conwayhownif)
Littleman, Bert (Viotch=Warpath)
Matches, Walter (Nanhiyurs)
Old, Bull, James
Pratt, Nick (Paacys)
Soaring Eagle (Ma-ah-chis)
Tasso, John
Tichkematse (Squint Eyes)
Two Crows, Prudie (Walking Woman)
Washee, Emily (Yellow Woman)
White Man (Ahsit)
Wicks, Charles Matches (Lean Bear)

11. CHIPPEWA (OJIBWA) (19 females, 32 males)

Beaupre, Joseph (& Sioux)
Bellcour [Bellcourt], Andrew Joseph
Bender, Anna
Bender, Elizabeth
Bender, Emma
Bender, Fred
Bender, George
Bisonigijig, Henry (Niwinigabow)
Bobidosh, Alexander
Boutang, Albert
Boutang, Irving Alfred (Wignesch)
Broker, Claudia Gertrude (Gabageshigoquay)
Broker, Mary Elizabeth
Brown, George William (Metawagwen)
Carpenter, Louis Joseph (Little Bird)
Chippewa, Louisa Anna
Chisholm, William Murdock
Chosa, Joseph
Cobe, Albert William (Nachewanaquad)
Coffey, Amos Given
Cross, Thomas Simon (Bird)
Demar, Edward (Winnebago)
Emery, Charles Elijah (Kahgayahwn)
Giard, Antoine
Giard, Celena Janette
Giard, Emma
Giard, Madeline, Mary Ann
Gokey, Agnes Catherine
Gokey, John

11. CHIPPEWA (CONT.)

Goodwin, Maude Abbie
Gregory, Alfred Joseph
Gurnoe, George Peter
Gurnoe, Joseph J.
Hamlin, George Hannibal
Hamlin, Louis Chrisostom
Isham, Charles
LaRock, Alexander
Medegan, John (Thunder Feather)
O'Donnell, John
O'Donnell, Nellie
O'Donnell, Stella Cecelia
Oliver, Agnes
Poler, James Benjamin
Selkirk, Lily Viola
Sherer, Emma Mary
St. Martin, Susie Thelma
Summers, George Joseph
Swan, Thomas Joseph (Nalamishkn)
Van Wert, Martha
Wolfe (or Wolf), Michael Vincent (Widonique=Still Cloud)
Wolfe, Susie Theresa

12. CLALLAM (3 females)

Ross, Dorsie Elinore
Ross, Marguerite
Wilson, Ellen

13. COMANCHE (2 males)

Sapcut, William (Ukahpitty)
Wallace, Henry

14. CREE (1 male)

Goforth, Ernest (Otepwewasis=Child Who Yells)

15. CROW (2 females, 4 males)

Carpenter, James
Mountain Sheep, Bertha (Running Bird)
Pease, David (Walking Bird)
Ten Bear, Charles
Tiffany, Francis (Pretty Eagle Tail)
Wrinkle Face, Ida

16. DELAWARE (2 males)

Foreman, Amos
Foreman, Charles

17. GROS VENTRE (HIDATSA) (4 females, 3 males)

Arihotchkish (Long Arm)
Malnourie, Josephine (All-Goes-Out)
Reed, Cordelia
Smith, Thomas (Nowatesh)
Walker, Mary
Walker, Sarah
White Back (Nasudish or Lasute)

18. HOPI (1 male)

Chooromi, John Schoroma (Tehoroma=Blue Bird)

19. KIOWA (9 males)

Doanmoe, Etahdleuh
Kobe (Wild Horse)
Lonewolf, William
Ohetoint, Charles
Pole-Ant, Tyrrell (Wonyepoke)
Roman Nose, Henry (or Henry Caruthers)
Tounkeah
Tsadle-Tah (White Goose)
Zonekeuh

20. KLAMATH (1 female)

Jackson, Emma Evelyn

21. LITTLE LAKE (or LIOMKAI POMO) (1 male)

Smith, Henry Everett

22. MANDAN (1 female, 6 males)

Cracking Wing (Sutateish or Cetaghe)
Deluska (Hukegadishtish=Little Pole Cat)
Ecorruptaha (Ikadaptaha or Looking Around)
Kawhat (Bow Legs) or Thomas H. Suckley
Many Birds, Charles (Bataku)
Nagle, Susie
White Breast (Sayedda)

23. MASHPEE (1 female)

Simons, Eva Mae

24. MENOMINEE (1 female, 5 males)

Gauthier, Frank
Lamote, Priscilla
Maquimetas (or Makemitas), Mitchell
Oshkeneny, Michael (Young Man or Mitchell Oskenaniew)
Peters, Alexander (Peyan)
Soman, Charles (Sonon=Dry Grapes)

25. MIAMI (1 male)

Goodboo, Frank

26. MICMAC (1 male)

Brooks, Benjamin

27. MISSION (2 males)

Largo, Anthony
Rice, Samuel Jasper

28. MOHAVE (1 female, 4 males)

Eaton, Oliver (Amoharma)
Harris, Arthur (Mohave-Apache or Yavapai)
Mitchell, Maggie (Meeseaihunnah)
Norcross, George (Hipoya)
Roberts, William (Aquacca)

29. MOHAWK (1 female, 3 males)

Bissell, Louise
Dominick, William
Jordan, Chauncey (Ahloheanus)
Tarbell, Joseph (Teneiutatte)

30. MUNSEE (1 male)

Jackson, Philo E.

31. NAVAJO (3 females, 9 males)

Damon, James
Gonzales, Augustine Mata
Gutierrez, Carlota
Hardigan, Alonzo (Esklachee)
Herrera, Juan N.
Martin, Robert Bowman
Morgan, Jacob C. (Casimera)
Price, Mary (Awezhini Ahteodespa)
Smith, William (Eskeyaza)

31. NAVAJO (CONT.)

Walker, John Green
Walker, Tule (Julie) Mary
Williams, Nathan

32. OMAHA (29 females, 46 males)

Barnaby, Josephine
Baxter, Samuel (Theumbagegthae=Flashing Lightning)
Burt, Susan (Wetacwe)
Cox, Eva [Emma] Mitchell
Esau, Mary (Nedawe)
Fontenelle, Albert
Fontenelle, Eugene
Fremont, Henrietta (Heawe)
Fremont, Samuel (Wajaepa)
Frost, Charles Augustus
Frost, Leon Leeds
Fuller, Annie
Fuller, Elsie
Fuller, Emma
Hallowell, John
Hamilton, Frank
Hamilton, James
Hamilton, Minnie Pilcher
Hastings, Richard (Majunapewatha)
LaFlesche, Carey
LaFlesche, Lucy
LaFlesche, Marguerite
LaFlesche, Noah (Nicagahe)
LaFlesche, Susan
Lamson, Amos
Leming, Irish
Leming, Stella (Tunegena)
Lieb, Elizabeth
Merrick, Freddie
Levering, Milton (Little Hoop)
Levering, Nancy (or Nancy Sheridan)
Meyers, Garry
Meyers, Leta Von Felden
Miller, Alice
Miller, Edward
Miller, George
Miller, John
Miller, Mary Sansouci
Mitchell, Ida
Mitchell, Lucy
Moncravie, Charles
Moncravie, Fred
Moncravie, Henry
Morgan, Albert

32. OMAHA (CONT.)

Morris, Edward (Bad Arrow)
Parker, George Adams
Parker, Samuel (Najuna)
Pilcher, Etta
Pilcher, Grace
Pilcher, William (Eumpaz)
Provo, Gertrude Barnes
Provost, Joseph Garver
Provost, William (Little Bear)
Ramsey, George (Onskadawakan)
Scott, Madeline
Sheridan, Rachel Lydia (Mashehathe)
Sherman, Edmund
Sherman, Isaac D.
Sloan, Thomas
Springer, Mabel Louise
Springer, Wallace
Stabler, Armell
Stabler, Eddie
Stabler, Eunice Woodhull
Stabler, George (Nahetish=Don't Touch Coals)
Stabler, Guy
Stabler, Hollis Andrus
Stabler, Minnie
Stabler, Philip
Stabler, Roy Dorsey (Ondehit)
Stabler, Simeon
Tyndall, Theresa
Tyndall, William Fontenelle (Heduba=Four Horns)
Watson, William
Wells, David (Ingthungasha=Catching Thunder)

33. ONEIDA (84 females, 109 males)

Adams, Julius
Adams, Lavinia
Adams, Louisa
Antone, Mary
Archiquette, Irene
Archiquette, Robert Smith
Archiquette, Solomon
Baird, Chauncey
Baird, Ellen
Baird, Emerson Charles
Baird, Laban
Baird, Luella Jane
Baird, Phoebe (Ya-go-win)
Baird, Reuben
Bread, Daniel
Bread, Katie

33. ONEIDA (CONT.)

Bred, Josephine Lucy [NY]
Burning, Ida Mae [NY]
Charles, Josiah
Cooper, Electa
Cooper, Minnie
Cornelius, Cornelia
Cornelius, Eli
Cornelius, Elizabeth Louise
Cornelius, Jerusha
Cornelius, Jesse H.
Cornelius, Julia
Cornelius, Lavinia (Ojiji)
Cornelius, Mason
Cornelius, Rebecca
Cornelius, Sampson
Coulon, Lucy Jerusha
Coulon, Sherman Peters (Shawart)
Crissjohn, Susie [NY]
Danforth, Celicia
Danforth, Janice [Jane] (Lanikien)
Danforth, Thomas (Dwnis)
Denney, Charles
Denney, Wilson
Doxtater, Chauncey D.
Doxtater, Chauncey Ruseter
Doxtater, Edward W.
Doxtater, Elizabeth (Libbie)
Doxtater, Eva
Doxtater, Hyson
Doxtater, Jane
Doxtater, Nancy
Doxtater, Peter Juno
Elm, Andrew
Elm, Edward
Elm, Elias E. [NY]
Elm, Horton G. [NY]
Elm, Ida
Elm, Jason
Elm, Lena
Elm, Moses
Elm, Nathan
Green, Augustus (& Sioux)
Green, Flora
Green, Lena
Hill, Cleveland White
Hill, Electa
Hill, Eliza
Hill, Flannigan Kay
Hill, George W.
Hill, Hiram

33. ONEIDA (CONT.)

Hill, Inez Rachel
Hill, Isaiah
Hill, Israel
Hill, John C.
Hill, John W.
Hill, Jones
Hill, Josephine Gertrude
Hill, Lucinda (Yo-si-na)
Hill, Martha
Hill, Rose
Hill, Rosetta
Hill, Wilson, J.
Honyoust, Daniel
Honyoust, William (or William H. Rockwell)
House, Eliza
House, George
James, Mary
John, Jane
John, Joshua
John, Marshall [NY]
John, Miner
Johnson, Emma [NY]
Johnson, Stella [NY]
King, Fred
King, Martin
Laymon, Clayton Carl
Laymon, Guy
Ludwick, Lena
Metoxen, Adam
Metoxen, Claudia Clara
Metoxen, Cornelius
Metoxen, Jameson
Metoxen, Joseph
Metoxen, Joshua
Metoxen, Minnie Ellen
Metoxen, Matilda (Tillie)
Metoxen, Nelson
Metoxen, Redmond Marcellus
Metoxen, Wilson
Ninham, Albert
Ninham, Christine
Ninham, John
Parker, Andrew
Parkhurst, Alexander
Parkhurst, Charles
Powless, Abbie
Powless, Alfred
Powless, Cora May (Scattering Flowers)
Powless, Ella
Powless, Elsie

33. ONEIDA (CONT.)

Powless, Hattie Belle
Powless, Hyson
Powless, Lyman (Tantetolus or Dr. War Eagle)
Powless, Maggie
Powless, Martin
Powless, Olive Jane
Powless, Purcell
Powless, Richard
Reed, Amos
Reed, Isaiah
Reed, Joel
Reed, Melissa (Kahawani)
Scanandoah (Skenandore), Chapman [NY]
Scanandoah (Skenandore), Joel (Taligone) [NY]
Scanandoah (Skenandore), Nicholas [NY]
Scanandore, William Thomas [NY]
Sickles, Samuel
Silas, Elsie E.
Silas, Lillie Esther
Silas, Mary Louisa
Skenandore, Abram
Skenandore, Amelia
Skenandore, Amy
Skenandore, Anderson (1st)
Skenandore, Anderson (2nd)
Skenandore, Edward
Skenandore, Eli
Skenandore, Elias (1st)
Skenandore, Elias (2nd)
Skenandore, Elizabeth
Skenandore, Elsie
Skenandore, James
Skenandore, James Jesse
Skenandore, Jemison
Skenandore, Jesse
Skenandore, Jonas
Skenandore, Leah
Skenandore, Lena (1st)
Skenandore, Lena (2nd)
Skenandore, Lillian
Skenandore, Marian Alma
Skenandore, Martha
Skenandore, Minnie
Skenandore, Richard
Skenandore, Sheppard
Skenandore, Willard
Skenandore, William
Skenandore, Wilson
Smith, Elizabeth
Smith, Eugene F.

33. ONEIDA (CONT.)

Smith, Florence Adelaide
Smith, Luther Simpson
Smith, Milton William
Smith, Oscar
Smith, Robert Bruce
Smith, Susan Marie
Somers, Charles
Somers, Rachel Lila
Somers, Susie
Stevens, Mitchell (or Mitchell Stephens)
Stevens, Phoebe
Summers, Emeline Amelia
Summers, Mary Jane
Thomas, Mary Ann (Waleya)
Webster, Albert
Webster, Ida
Webster, Isaac Newton
Webster, Isaac (2nd)
Webster, Isaiah
Webster, Lydia
Webster, Lyman Brown
Webster, Rosa
Wheelock, Benjamin
Wheelock, Foster
Wheelock, Lehigh
Wheelock, Lydia
Wheelock, Rhoda Henrietta

34. ONONDAGA (9 females, 20 males)

Crouse, Della Marjorie
Crouse, Harriet Maxwell
Doxon, Charles (Hosquasagada)
Farmer, John
Farmer, Orris Harrison (Hyowis)
George, Karl Danforth
George, Lucinda (Gaweno)
Green, Davis Bennett (Hiawadah)
Green, George
Hill, David Russell
Hill, Melissa
Hill, Randolph Griffin
Johnson, Joseph James
Jones, Nelson
LaForte, Charlotte
LaForte, Millie
Pierce, Alva Manning
Pierce, Amanda
Pierce, Edward Newton
Pierce, LeRoy

34. ONONDAGA (CONT.)

Pierce, Smith (Surnace)
Powless, Duncan William
Stafford, Roscoe Oliver
Thomas, Kimball Franklin
Van Every, George (Gyohno)
Waterman, Edward Chester (To Beat)
Waterman, Jessie
Williams, Clifford Irving
Williams, Vinnie Edith

35. OTOE (4 males)

Burgess, William (Hoohe)
Deroin, Louis
Rich, Ben (Luchewada)
Washington, Charles (later Charles Daly)

36. OTTAWA (1 female)

King, Mary Adaline

37. PAIUTE (1 male)

Smith, James Richard

38. PAPAGO (1 female, 5 males)

Lolorias, John Miguel (or Juan Dolores, Jose Nestesia)
Lolorias, Oscar Antonio
Ramon, Josa (or John Cachora)
Rios, Francesca
Rios, James (Santiago)
Rios, Paul (Pablo)

39. PAWNEE (6 females, 21 males)

Bayhylle, Daniel (Risawro-siritiricoo=Looking Chief)
Beecher, Henry Ward
Bowman, Thomas (Acalahoraca=Horse from a Distant Country)
Caesar, Julius
Coons, Arthur (They All Depended On Him)
Cummings, Lucy Bell (Chkaweda=Youngest One)
Esau, Anna
Heustice, Jonathan (Tahipiskalaha=Proud Striker)
Little Eagle, Paul (Netakatz)
Lushbaugh, Ernest
Mannington, James
Masters, William
McCoy, James
Moore, Wilson D.

39. PAWNEE (CONT.)

Murie, Alfred
Murie, Caroline Lee
Murie, Henry (White Bird)
Murie, James R. (Letawcutsjehawle=Young Eagle)
Pratt, Thomas
Roberts, Henry Ellis (Piahruhukaraharu=Fancy Bird)
Roberts, Nellie (Staracaresaah)
Roberts, Rush
Sun Chief, Peter
Sunchief, Starry Felma
Tatiah, Charles (Cha-hyx-tu-rah-he)
Upshaw, Ruth (Stahkah=Man Chief)
Walker, Samuel

40. PENOBSCOT (2 males)

Dana, George
Hubbard, Frank

41. PEORIA (1 male)

McNeill, William Hallie

42. PIEGAN (1 female)

Espinosa, Juanita (White Buffalo)

43. PIMA (1 female, 16 males)

Azul, Antonito (Hortumiatwoihim=Evening Thunder)
Azul, Harry (Mohaticalpaha)
Blackwater, Domego
Conklin, Enoch (Savarpks)
Emerson, William Palsisk
Garfield, Juan
Inez, Melissa
Jackson, Joseph (Sanciago)
Jackson, Kistoe Sheldon
Kisto, Juan
Lewis, Simon
Manuel, Victor
Matthews, Charles
Roberts, Jacob (Chago)
Thomas, Cyrus
Thomas, Daniel N.
Thomas, Jackson

44. PONCA (2 females, 2 males)

Big Goose, Genevieve
LeClair, Joseph (& Pottawatomi)
Sherman, Eva
Williams, James Prettyhair (Pahinthagthin)

45. POTAWATOMI (1 female, 9 males)

Baldan, Robert
Bazhaw, Frank
Bourassa, Peter
Chilson, Daniel
Enouf, James
Haus, George
Haus, John
Johnson, Andrew
Wall, Asa Elwood
Wall, Sadie (Misnogoqua)

46. PUEBLO (3 females, 5 males)

Abeita, Antonio
Atsye, Lottie
Beardsley, Eli (Quiuna)
Chavez, Allessandro Saveda
Martinez, John Estevan
Otero, Eliseo
Powdrill, Cynthia Ola
Ransom, Virginia

47. SAC & FOX (5 females, 12 males)

Bad Fish (or Avery), David
Battice, Walter (Pamiwathaskuk)
Conally, Charles
Couteau, John (Nannicooto)
Davenport, Harry (Marcopar)
Davenport, William (Wasakonaha=The One Who Flashes)
Gokey (or Gautier), Antoine (Kittikullaho=Spotted Tail)
Jones, William (Megasiawa=Black Eagle)
Keokuk, Frank (Napwena)
Keokuk, Nellie
McCoy, Cassie
Miles, Hattie (Makosato)
Miles, Thomas (Muchuterwishek)
Monroe, Lydia
Moore, Alice
Moore, William H. (Neconwatuck)
Whistler, John (Wethena)

48. SENECA (56 females, 59 males)

Armstrong, Alice P.
Armstrong, Charles
Bailey, Lyman (Donwohhohyah)
Bailey, Nancy Clara (Unlock-the-Door or Nancy Billy)
Bishop, Benjamin Franklin
Bishop, Lucius
Bluesky, Tillie Berdena
Brooks, Emily
Clark, Evangeline Candia (Pond Lillies)
Conklin, Charles
Cooper, Lawrence
Crouse, Ellen Katie
Crouse, Chester
Crouse, Edison Eliot
Crouse, George (Jarnoh)
Crouse, George W.
Doctor, Milo
Doxtater, Elsie Greene
Doxtater, Lucinda Sarah
Garret, Ruth
George, Helen
George, Samuel
George, Wallace King
Gordon, Bennett Charles
Gordon, Victor [Cornplanter, PA]
Green, Wallace
Greene, James
Griffin, Charles
Ground, Lillian
Halftown, Frances
Halftown, Harriet May
Halftown, Irene Mildred
Hewitt, Caroline Glenmore Cleopatra
Hill, Jesse (Quiyawakgon)
Hill, Sarinda
Jamison, Alice Edith
Jamison, Flora
Jamison, Norah Leah (Redeye)
Jemison, Irene
Jemison, LaVern Leonard
Jimerson, Harry Defay
Jimerson, Leroy Spencer
Jimerson, Peter
Jimerson, Raymond Willett
Jimerson, Theodore Lynn
Jimerson, Wilbur Leroy (Wolf)
John, Delora Abbie
John, Henry
Johnnyjohn, Mitchell
Johnson, Harvey

48. SENECA (CONT.)

Kariho, Naomi [OK]
Kennedy, Francis
Kennedy, Walter
Lay, Carl Emerson
Lay, Percival Clifford
Lay, William Letchworth
Mohawk, Jennie Lena
Parker, Asher Wright
Parker, Carl Maxwell
Parker, Nicholson Henry
Patterson, Fleeta Ramsdell
Patterson, James
Pierce, Gertrude Edith
Pierce, Irene Rena
Pierce, Marian Helen
Plummer, Clarence W.
Poodre, Rose Theresa (Gatwhatah)
Poodry, Dora (Woohwaygo)
Poodry, Dudley
Poodry, Fannie Caroline (Dagoayont)
Poodry, Gertie
Poodry, Sadie
Printup, Horatio R.
Printup, Selina
Scanandore, Elsie Mae (Cutting Flowers)
Scanandore, Lydia L.
Schingler, Clara Bell
Scott, Annie
Scott, Lettie B.
Scott, Solon Woodruff
Scott, Ulysses Grant
Seneca, Bernedena Violette
Seneca, Elnora (Ahwah)
Seneca, Gladys Eleanor
Seneca, Wilbur Eli
Shanks, Daniel Webster
Shanks, Grover Cleveland
Silverheels, Florence Winifred (Inejonejone)
Skye, Bertha Elsie
Skye, George
Skye, Phoebe May (Gowesan)
Skye, Wilbur
Smith, Miami (Ca-yah-was)
Snow, Evelyn Bennett
Snow, Julia Edna
Snow, Leroy
Snow, Mildred Fleeta
Snyder, Jeremiah
Splitlog, Inez
Spring, Hanover

48. SENECA (CONT.)

Sundown, Mattie Leona
Sundown, Roland Burnett (One Without A Garden)
Tall Chief, Archie
Tallchief, Jennie Bernice
Tallchief, Julia Amelia
Turkey, DeForest
Twoguns, Evelyn Roslyn (Owayoh=Flower-in-the-cup)
Washburn, Harry Hartman (One Cloud)
Washburn, Herbert Eugene (Two Clouds)
Watts, Cephas Alvord (Breaks)
White, James (Grenita)
White Crow, Clara [OK]
White Crow, Mary Jane [OK]
Williams, Spencer Fischer (Howangdo)
Winney, Mary Jane (Nagonda) [OK]

49. SHASTA (1 male)

Long, Richard Winifred

50. SHINNECOCK (3 females, 4 males)

Brewer, Edward
Bunn, Gilbert
Bunn, Grace
Bunn, Minnie Mae
Killis, James R.
Thompson, Henry Brodette
Walker, Effie

51. SHOSHONE (1 male)

Dodson, John Silvester

52. SIOUX (LAKOTA & DAKOTA) [By Agency Affiliation]

A. CHEYENNE RIVER AGENCY (13 females, 49 males)

Arpan, Claymore
Aygenoughwea, Louis (Eknainyanke)
Benoist, William (Howaste)
Brown, Harry (Wankicunla)
Cantewanica, Daniel (No Heart)
Cedar Boy, Albert (Rante Koksina)
Crow Boy, Arthur (Kangi-hoksina)
Crow Feather, James (Kangi-Wiyaka)
Doffit (Dolphus), James
Door, Frank (Tiyopa)
Dupuis, Edward
Fielder, Henry William (Hepapetela)

A. CHEYENNE RIVER AGENCY (CONT.)

Fisherman, Henry (Tamaheca)
Gabe, Baptiste
Garreau, John
Grey Cloud, George (Mahipiya-hota)
Half, Carrie
High Bird, Irene
High Bird, John (Zitkadan-wakantu)
Icato, Moses (Oluka=Galloping)
Ikinicapi, Thomas (Fight For)
Johnson, Charles (Kosin)
Johnson, Fred (Eyanhoksila=Rock Boy)
Kingman, Harry (Atagela Wicakte)
Larrabee, Maggie
Larrabee, William
Laundet, Sophie
Lays-Out-Of-Doors, Rosa
Lee, Thomas
Little Black Foot, Corabelle
Little Boy, Theodore (Hoksina-cistina)
Marsh (or DeMarsche), Joseph
Marshall, Albert
Marshall, Charles (Or Charles Marshall Gabe)
Pattee, John
Paypay, Antoinette (Wambdiwin)
Paypay, Fred
Paypay, Harrison
Paypay, James
Prairie Chicken, Paul (Siyo=Prairie Chicken)
Rattling Rib, Louis (or Louis Horn)
Rivers, Felicia
Rivers, Joseph
Robb, John
Scott, Helen
Spotted Eyes, Charles (Istagleska)
Sunkaska, Joseph (White Dog)
Sutasni, Leory (Suta-sni or Shutaschnay)
Swift Worm (Wamini-Luza or Swift Whirlwind)
Tasunkawaste, Joseph (Good Horse)
Traversie, Edna
Traversie, Elizabeth
Traversie, Mary
Traversie, Theophile
Van Metre, Luther
Wahacanka (Shield or Bear Shield)
Wahn, Joseph (or Joseph Marshall)
Whirling Hand, Jacob
White Bull, Charlie (Tatankaska)
Woodface, Harry (Ite-can or Harry Woods)
Yellow Hair, Edith
Yuzpu (Take-It-Off)

B. CROW CREEK AGENCY (38 females, 56 males)

Archambeau (Archambault), John
Ashley, Edward P. H. (Husansan=Grey Legs)
Ashley, Thomas Paseca (Paseca=Skull)
Ashley, Wallace (Sunkahinto=Muskrat)
Badger, Fred (Camini)
Badger, John (Ewanynsica)
Banks, George (Beditan hunka)
Banks, Grace
Banks, Jessie (Red Legs)
Banks, Louisa (Her Bed)
Barry, John
Bear, John (Comes After)
Begs-For-Her, Nancy
Black, Lucy Ida (Spotted Horse)
Black, Stella (Yellow Star)
Blake, Rosa
Blue Pipe, John (Carronpato)
Bowed Head, Lora Snow
Bowed Head, Mamie Snow
Brick, Louis
Briggs, Charles (Makaizita)
Bruyier, John
Buck, Eddie
Buck, Eugene
Buck, Hannah
Buck, Louis
Burt, Ellen (Frog or Owl Woman)
Carpenter, Susan
Cetan, Samuel (Hawk)
Charging Hawk, John (Mastinkute)
Chasing Alone, Luke (Isnawaknwa)
Clark, Homer (Hoyuze=Fisher)
Cook, Hattie
Crow, Alfred (Kangi)
Crow, Maggie (Uncagewin)
Davis, Ziewie (Ziwin=Yellow Woman)
DeGray, Arthur
DeGray, George
Face, Laura (Wasicuwin=White Woman)
Fire Cloud, Armstrong
Fire Cloud, Daniel
Fire Cloud (Jr.), Daniel (Mahpiya-peta)
Fire Cloud, Emma (White Buffalo)
Fire Cloud, James
Fire Cloud, Thomas
Fire Cloud, Walter
Fire Tail (or Fire), Louis (Mato Keiza=Fighting Bear)
First Hail, Eugene (Wasu-tokakeya)
Fox, Andrew (Sungina)
Frost (Frosted), Thomas (Matoska or Arewanke)

B. CROW CREEK AGENCY (CONT.)

Goodform, Emma (Tancan-Waste)
Hand, Harry (Crazy Bull)
Head, Morris (Hohoyeha)
Howard, Anna Susette (Ocobo)
Howe, Pearl Ethel (Winona)
Irwin, Joseph (Istuwenaka)
Jacobs, Henry
Kettle, Mary
LeClair, Charles
Little Eagle, Edward
Little Eagle, Henry (Wambdi-Cistina)
Little Eagle, Lucy (Winona)
Little Eagle, Martha Waldron
Little Eagle, Walter (Kateyeyena)
Lodge, Josephine (Hupahuiyojanjanwin=Lightning Wing)
Long Feather, Henry (Wiyaka-hanska)
Mahpiya-Mani (Mahpiyamani=Walking Cloud)
Mazakute, Rebecca (Rattling Iron)
Mazakute, Simon (Rattling Iron)
McBride, Charles
Medicine Crow, Fred (Rain in the Face)
Middletent, Irene
Pamani, Frank (Hoots While Walking)
Pretty Hand, Joseph (Nape-waste)
Red Bird, Mary (Skeduta)
Red Hawk, John (Cetan-duta)
Sacred Iron, Alice (Wakan-Maza)
Single Feather, Santee (Wiyaka-Wanjina or William Santee)
Slow, Asa W.
Spider, Lizzie
St. John, Julia
Stone, Charlie (Tuncan-wicahca)
Stone, Ida (Tuncan)
Surrounded, Jean D. (Wicayuhakdinajiwin)
Swift, Bessie
Tatiyopa, Henry
Thrown-Away, Mabel (Yellow Eagle)
Truthteller, William (Itze Zi)
Unspesni, Lizzie (Don't-Know-How)
Voice, John (Honkiyapi)
Whips, Emma
Wilgus, Minnie
Wizi, Amy (Yellow Eyes)
Wizi, John (Wizioa)

C. FLANDREAU AGENCY (2 females)

Arrow, Hannah
Lovejoy, Anna (Tiwastewin)

D. LOWER Brulè AGENCY (18 females, 48 males)

Bear Bird, Baptiste (Catka-tanka=Big Left Hand)
Bear Bird, Benjamin
Bear Bird, Julia
Bearheart, Alexander (Agana)
Bear Heart, Peter (Cante-Mato)
Big Mane, Philip (Majuwicakin)
Big Mane, Robert
Blackbird, Tony (Nataska)
Brave, Benjamin (Ohitika=Brave Long Feather)
Brave, Benjamin Deane
Brave, Florence Josephine
Brazeau, Peter (Tanyan-wakuwa=Good Hunter)
Buffalo, John (Tatanka)
Bullhead, Maggie (Cauksayuhawise)
Bushotter, George (Oteri)
Counsellor (or Councillor), Charles
Counsellor (or Councillor), Kate (Niniyatwin)
Counsellor (or Councillor), Philip (Wanokia)
DeSheuquette, Leon
DeSheuquette, Susan
De Smit, Joseph
Ellis, Ellen (Asanknwin)
Ellis, Joseph
Fallis, Emma (or Amy)
Fallis, Margaret (Hotoninyankewin=Runs Shouting)
Fire Thunder, Ella (Ziyawin)
Goodroad, Eva (Hoonaroupiwin)
Goodroad, James (Canku-waste)
Handsome Elk, Katie (Snayanpiciyawin)
Hoop Cloud, Charles (Mahpiya-candeska)
Huntsman, Wesley
Johnson, Laura Lavinia (Laughing Water)
Kennedy, Van Metre (Maziokata)
LaRoche, Joseph
Lee, Edgar (Candeska Koyake)
Lee, Nellie (Tasinataukawin)
Leeds, Henry Thomas
Leeds, Sarah (Wicahpe-Wastewin=Bountiful Star)
Looking Eagle, James (Wambdi-Wakita)
Mato, Benjamin (Bear)
Medicine Bull, Samuel (Tatanka-Wakan)
Medicine Bull, Virginia (Tawacinhewastewin)
Morsea, Charles Roy (Soldier Boy or Charles Spotted Crow)
Omaha, Felix (Omana; Homna=Smells-of-Fish or Bite-Off-Homna)
Pretty Hair, Mary (Hinwastewin)
Recontre, Francis (Haygaektome=Elk Spider)
Recontre, Henry (Ali=Stepping On)
Recontre, Ida (Zitkanaziwin=Yellow Bird)
Recontre, James
Recontre, Lezedo

D. LOWER Brulè AGENCY (CONT.)

Red Bear (Mato-Luta)
Red Fish (Hogan-Luta)
Roberts, Andrew
Sagyeonkte, Andrew (Cane-to-Kill-With)
Saul, David (Hepan=Second Born)
Thompson, James (Wicakaska or James Ferdinand)
Thompson, Joseph Winnebago (Hotanka=Loud Voice)
Thompson, Reuben
Tiyowicakte (Killed-in-the-House)
Tompkins, George
Tompkins, Thomas
Usefulheart, Henry (Hoksita-tanka)
Voice of the Cloud, Stephen (Mahpiya-hotona)
Wannapin, George (Necklace)
White Cow, Sarah (Sunkawaka-gleskawin or Fire Thunder)
Yellow Hawk, Solomon (Shot-Him-Down)

E. PINE RIDGE AGENCY (14 females, 13 males)

American Horse, Vina
Carlow, Lizzie
Charging Wolf, Lizzie
Cirtchet, Mamie Amelia (Mato Inyanotawin=Rocky Bear)
Clifford, Charles
Clifford, James Blaine (Tawapahaska=His White War Bonnet)
Clifford, John (Hoksina to=Blue Boy)
Condelario, Lucinda (Wiquhaktewin)
Condelario, Sophia
Conroy, Benjamin
Corn, Emma Gertrude
Fire Thunder, Angelique Julia
Goings, James Terrel (Maga-ska=White Swan)
Goings, Virgie May
Keith, Mary Winona
Martinez, Mary Clara
Poor Elk, John
Ross, Joseph Cook
Ross, Oliver (Hake-waste)
Ross, Owen
Ruff, William
Russell, Susie Jane
Whalen, Richard
White, Rose Lee
White Bear, Samuel (Mato-ska)
Wilson, Frank (or Frank Yeago)
Young, Isabell Matilda

F. ROSEBUD AGENCY (2 females, 1 male)

Laten, Lucy
Murray, Lorena E. (Iron Buffalo)
Poor Thunder, George (Sitting Eagle)

G. SANTEE AGENCY (10 females, 28 males)

Barker, Alfred H. (Hepan)
Baskin, Samuel J.
Day, Joseph
Frazier, Alfred (Hepan)
Frazier, Daniel (Hepi)
Frazier, Emma Cordelia (Dowanhiyawin=Goes Along Singing)
Frazier, Fannie (Winona)
Frazier, Fannie Eliza (Sweet Medicine)
Frazier, George Judson (Haupa)
Frazier, Howard (Ehnamani)
Glick, John Oscar
Glick, Taylor Winifred
Hedges, Edward
James, Henry
Jones, Charles H. (Tawamuiskana)
Jones, Charles M. (Caske)
Jones, Guy (Hepana)
Jones, Stephen
Kitto, Thomas (Timaza)
Mackey, Edward (Hehaka=Elk)
Mitchell, Cora Agnes (Rattling Robe)
Mitchell, Irene (Wayakapiwastewin=Good to Look at)
Red Owl, Isaac (Hinhankaga-duta)
Robertson, Bertha Rebecca (Hastena=Third Born Girl)
Robinson, Henry
Rouillard, Alexander (Mozahoksidan)
Rouillard, Charles
Rouillard, David
Rouillard, Jesse
Rouillard, Lucy Isabel
Rouillard, Thomas J. (Hepan)
Saul, Moses H.
Sheppard, Walter John
Sky, William (Mahpiya)
Trudell, Lucy (Hinapewin)
Ukipata, Edward Knudson (Okipatan or Buffalo Chief)
Wabashaw (or Wabasha), Victoria Agnes
Wambdisun, Susan (Hanyetumaniwin)

H. SISSETON AGENCY (1 female, 10 males)

Bird, Nathan Porter
Campbell, James
Labelle, Harvey M.
McIntosh, John Emery
McIntosh, William Oliver (Sisseton Band, from WI)
Robertson, Elizabeth
Roberston, Gabriel
Robertson, Gamaliel
Robertson, Norman
Stevens, William (Wahohun)
Walker, John T. (Mahpiyatahepiya)

I. STANDING ROCK AGENCY (39 females, 86 males)

Agard, Louis
All Yellow, James (Atayagi)
All Yellow, Jane (Eagle Face)
Ankle, Matthew (Istaqisica or Ishkahula)
Archambault, Charles Jerome
Archambeau (Archambault), Joseph
Arrow, Claude (Nakijin)
Arrow, Joseph (Wahinkpe)
Bagola, George (Togash)
Bear Face, Rosa
Bear Robe, James (Matohasina)
Bird, Mary (Zitanawin)
Black Hawk, Frank (Cetan-Sapa)
Black Hawk, Peter (Cetan-sapa)
Blackhoop, Frank David (Hewetate=Wind on the Forehead)
Blue Boy, Jack (Hoksinato)
Blue Cloud, Martin (Yukimicapi)
Bluelips, Eugene (or Eugene Tattoo)
Bullhead, Louisa
Bone Club, Felix (Huhucanhpe=Bone Club)
Bow, Claude (Itazipa=Jumping)
Cadocte, John (Hokatokte or Nakpa)
Cihila, Benedict (Cihila)
Cross Bear, Fannie (Psicawin=Jumping)
Cross Bear, Katherine (Tacunwin)
Crow Man, John (Kill Crow Indian or Kangi-iwicasakte)
Currier, Madeline (Tawahintka)
Delay (or Ankle), Daniel Issador
DeRockbrain, Antoine (Mackan=Dare)
Eagle, Annie (Wambdiwin)
Eagle Dog, Mary (Oye=Track)
Elbow, Carrie
Elk, Paul (Hupan)
Fire Elk, Cassimer (Herakapeta)
Fly, Joseph (Tonkeye-wakuwa=Chases First)
Four Swords, Henry (Sagye-topa)

I. STANDING ROCK AGENCY (CONT.)

Frosted, Philip (Heyinkpa-wambdi=Eagle on Top)
Gabe, Joseph Jerry (Running Soldier)
Goodfur, Benjamin (Pahanajinkte)
Goodfur, Mary [or Stella] (Tarnahpiyawin)
Goodwind, Robert (Tatewaste)
Goodwood, Maggie (Tarcaskawin)
Goodwood, Thomas (Canwaste or Hehaka-Arilya=Yellow Elk)
Graham, Mark Willis (Niyakeyuza or Taken Alive)
Happyroad (Tacanku-yuskipiwin)
Has Horns, Ben (Hetonyuha)
Hawk, Martin (Cetan)
Hawk, William (Honaronpi=Hear His Voice)
Hebda, Martin (Hebda)
Hebda, William (Hempka)
Higheagle, Florence
Higheagle, Robert Placidus (Kohektakoya)
Howard, Innocent (Mazakan)
Ho-Waste (or Good Voice)
Huhana, Lucy
Industrious, Lawrence (Eagle Bull or Bliheca)
Iron, Amelia (Wacante Wastewin or Amelia Maza)
Iron Bear, Jerome (Mato-Maza)
Iron Necklace, Eugene (Maza-Wannapin)
Kathleen, Julia (Susbeca-luta)
Killed, Louis (Ktena or Goodiron)
Lariat, John (Ikanwicake=Throws the Rope)
Last, Thomas (Ahakekw)
Left Hand, John (Heyuhara or John Elk)
Long Girl, Louisa (Winyanhanskawin)
Lowdog, Louisa (Manikuwin)
Low Dog (or Lowell), Luke (Iyena wicakte=Killed Even Number)
Martin, Maurice
Matonapi, Robert (Iyekapi)
McCarty, Josephine
Medicine Rock, Sarah (Waste)
Menz, Joseph
No Ears, Jennie (Noga-wanicawin)
No Ears, Lucy (Noga-wanica)
Ota Akdi, Charles (or Charles Bought Plenty)
Pamani, Celeste
Phelps, Edwin
Phelps, Ella
Phelps, Ellen
Phelps, Gideon
Phelps, Matteos
Phelps, Obed
Place Together, Agnes
Pleets, Jesse
Pleets, John (Zitkana-ska=White Bird)
Pleets, Joseph (Hoksila)

I. STANDING ROCK AGENCY (CONT.)

Pleets, Marcella
Pleets, Rosa (Wasicuwin)
Plenty, David (Sunkode)
Porcupine, Paul (Pahin)
Pretty Bird, Mary (Zitkanawastewin)
Pretty Flute, Charles
Rabbit, Charles (Mastincala)
Ramsey, Alma
Ramsey, Charles Dick
Red Cane, Annie (Tasagye-luta)
Red Eagle, Agnes (Wambdi-dutawin)
Red Fox, Emma (Ptesan)
Red Horse, Joesph (Sunkasda)
Red Stone, Barney (Bdoka)
Running Girl, Kate
Running With, John (Agna-inyanke)
Shield, Lucas (Wahacanka)
Shot Twice, James (Nonpaopi)
Siyaka, Clarence (Mato Catka=Left-Hand Bear)
Smite, William
Standing Crow, George (Kanginajin)
Striped Face, John (Ite or John Good House)
Tiakin, Martin (Charging Thunder or On the House)
Tiaokasin, John (Looks-into-the-lodge or Porcupine)
Tiaokasin, Richard
Uhakeumpa (Carries Flying or Thomas P. Fly)
Virgin, Clara (Witasnawin)
Walking Eagle, Joseph (Wambdimani)
Walking Medicine, Fidelia (Pejihuta-maniwin)
Wankicun, Frank (or Frank Lefamboise)
Welsh, Crescentius (Sicola)
Welsh, Herbert (Mahpiya-Mato=Cloud Bear)
Welsh, Herbert Hawkshield, Jr. (Tatankaiyotake=Sitting Bull)
White, Ralph Emerson
White Cow, Frances (Pte-san)
White Plume, Joseph (Itecanhin-ska)
Wise Adolph (Aonayanpi or Wise Spirit)
Wosica, Jerome (Kokat or Jerome Iron Eyes)
Young Eagle, Matthew (Wambdi-cistina)

J. YANKTON AGENCY (26 females, 40 males)

Anderson, Carrie
Archambeau, Peter (or Pierre)
Bean, Alma
Bean, William
Benoist, Felix
Bernie, Jesse
Bernie, Robert
Bishop, Edwin (Running Bull)

J. YANKTON AGENCY (CONT.)

Brown, Oscar (Cetan-Wanjina=One Hawk)
Brown, Samuel
Bubuna, Daniel (Ekaka=Elk)
Canfield, Susie
Conger, Alice Cora (Wacintankawin=Wants Much)
Conger, Eva Julia (Cantawastewin)
Conger, Henry
Conger, Lucy (Itancanwin=Chief Woman)
Conger, Mercy I. (Wacantkiyawin)
Conger, Sibyl Evelyn (Dressed-like-a-Boy)
Cook, Joseph (Tuncan-sapa)
Cordier, Angelique
Cote, Elsie May
Culbertson, Moses
DeFond, Samuel (Cinyekudan=Little Brother)
Deloria, George (Cloud Horse)
Deronda, Walter (Tikanye)
DuBray, Everett Edward
DuBray, Joseph (Cankaksa)
Estes, Alexander
Estes, George (Matoksu)
Estes, Joseph (Standing Crane)
Four Star (Foster), Samuel (Wicahpitopa)
Garfield, James
Goulet, Maggie
Goulet, Mary
Hinman, Mary (Rattling-Hail)
Keeler, Lizzie (Wasichuin)
Kealear, Charles
Kennedy, Elizabeth
Lambert, Baptiste
Lamont (or Lemont), Katie
LaRochelle, Fred
Little Crow, William
Lyman, Annie
Lyman, Henry H. (Hoksina)
Lyman, Mary
Mandan, Daniel
Mandan, Isaac
McIntosh, Almira Ruth
Minisni, Eugene (Cold Water or Eugene Highrock)
Moose, Esther [Marie]
Picotte, Charles (Miniskuga=Salt Water)
Rulo, Charles (Matoska)
Rulo, Zallie
Saul, William (Heyoka-tokeca=Strange Clown)
Selwyn, Lizzie
Simmons, David
Stricker, David (Tawakankdi-wakanna=His Holy Lightning)
Stricker, George (Mahpiya-duza=Swift Cloud)

J. YANKTON AGENCY (CONT.)

Stricker, Jeanette (Ptedutawin)
Tasagyemaniwin, Louisa (Walking Stick)
Tuttle, Thomas (Wakanyan-najin=Standing Holy)
Upiwin, Julia (Bird-Tail)
West, Emily (Upikdeskawin)
Willis, Charles (Padani)
Yellow Bird, Edwin (Tankawangapapi)
Yellow Bird, Frank (Zitkana-zina)

K. SIOUX: MISCELLANEOUS LOCATIONS (3 females, 4 males)

Cloud Hail, Eunice Agnes (Niwawatewin=Sweet Breath) [MT]
DeCoteau, Lien Philip (Blue Lightning) [Wilmot, SD]
Henderson, Kate (Winona=First Born) [MT]
Kasto, John (Tunkanicasnamani) [Manitoba, Canada]
Pattee, Frederick Hartman (& Cherokee) [Sumas, WA]
Rulo, Cora [Ponca Agency, NB]
Weston, Logan Spider (Cankaga=Log) [Ponca Agency, NB]

53. SNOHOMISH (1 male)

Jones, George Culver

54. STOCKBRIDGE (13 females, 6 males)

Butler, Mary
Fishback, Abby
Gardner (or Gardener), Laura
Howe, Guy
Metoxen, Lottie
Miller, Carl
Miller, Emerson
Miller, Frederick
Miller, Grace Winona
Miller, Ida
Miller, Rosa (Chemosqua)
Miller, Tracy
Miller, Wellinton
Palmer, Lizzie
Palmer, May
Peters, Bessie
Peters, Nellie Helena (Tawenemus)
Quinney, Adele Pearl
Quinney, Louisa: Stockbridge

55. SWINOMISH (1 male)

Sampson, Martin Joseph

56. TLINGIT (1 male)

Verigan, Francis (Ganashu=Nightboy)

57. TUSCARORA (10 females, 11 males)

Anderson, Chauncy
Cusick, Simon
Garlow, Winifred Adelaide
Green, Isaac: Tuscarora
Henry, Eva Gertrude
Johnson, Abigail Bernice
Johnson, Seymour Ely
Jones, Adolphus Brinkley (Evreyn)
Jones, Florence Lila
Jones, Harriet
Jones, Horatio Asa
Jones, Lucy Nellie
Patterson, Asa E.
Patterson, Holland Day
Patterson, Kate
Patterson, Mabel Margaret
Pembleton, Louisa
Peters, Eugene
Thompson, Oliver
Williams, Reuben
Williams, Virginia Lena

58. UTE (1 male)

White, Baco

59. WAILAKI (1 male)

Blodgett, Robert Ezra

60. WICHITA (6 males)

Brown, Clay J. (Weixkitch)
Haddon, John Wilber
Left Hand, William
Lorentz, John Ross
Stevenson, Nuss
Townsend, Reuben

61. WINNEBAGO (26 females, 38 males)

Alexander, Carrie
Armell, Josephine
Armell, Louis (Hanaka)
Baptiste, John (Wakanka)
Bear, Cora

61. WINNEBAGO (CONT.)

Bear, Henry (Menahka)
Bear, John
Bear, Thomas Morgan
Big Thunder, Robert (First Born Son) [WI]
Black Deer, Bruce
Blackhawk, John (Hunhiskijohgah)
Blackhawk, Joseph (Mahtinshagah)
Bonaparte, Charles
Clay, John
Decora, Angel (Hi-nook-mahiwi-kilinaka=Thunderbird Woman)
Decora, Grace
Decora, Julia (Haksuka)
Decora, Walter: Winnebago (NB)
Decorra, Emma (Hochapwiga=Pretty Gray) [WI]
Earth, Fannie
Fisher, Adam (Wakkonchariookaw=Coming Thunder)
Frenchman, Annie (Hojacinga)
Frenchman, Maud (Hakciganeka=Third Girl) [WI]
Garven, George Bude (Henaga) [WI]
Gilbert, Judith
Greene, Lena Evangeline
Harden, Helen Ethelyn (Heneugah=First Born Daughter)
Harris, William Henry
Harrison, William (Wamine)
Henry, Emma Rae (First Born)
Hinman, Ethel Pearl
Hinman, Albert (Mara-aa-mainka=Walk on the Water)
Hinman, Horace Wilson (First Born)
Hopinkah, Thomas Frank [WI]
Hunter, Allie Hart
Hunter, John (Nahhahhegah)
Hunter, Lucy Edith (Henoka=First Born Girl)
Hunter, William
James, Hattie
Johnson, Eva Grace (Wehaneka=Second Girl)
John Jr., Henry (Chargheschohgah)
Johnson, John Payer
Kingsley, Ebenezer (Pawkegah)
LaMere, Francis Edward (Blue Bird)
Little Bear, Daniel William [WI]
Little Bear, Sophie
Logan, Emma (Ocseeaheah)
Long, George (Buffalo)
Long, Lucy Edith (Ocseeaheah)
Long Tail, Philip (Humbimaniga or Philip Long)
Lowe, Albert Thunder King (Trahripskaga=White Eagle) [WI]
Lowe, Gilbert (Fred Thunderking) [WI]
Mallory, Alice (Fourth Born Girl)
Payer, Alex
Pelkey, Albert (Coonnu)

61. WINNEBAGO (CONT.)

Raymond, Charles John
Rice, Dan Reuben
St. Cyr, David
St. Cyr, Julia
St. Cyr, Louis
Stevens, Addie (Green Feather)
Tebo, Frank
Thomas, Mary Laura (Wehonga)
Twin, Rufus (Nahegah)

62. WYANDOT (1 female)

Young, Lizzie

63. YAQUI (1 female)

Montion, Carmen

64. YUKI (1 female)

Smith, Josephine Arnold

65. YUMA (1 female, 5 males)

Burrows, Emma (Hummagisha)
Curran, John Eddie
Dorchester, Daniel
Kendall, Henry (Acolehut)
Russell, Sennan (Eamott=Dirt)
Vaughn, Gerald

NOTE:

The tribal affiliation of Ada Allen is not known. Ada, an American Indian pupil from Oklahoma, spent only one night at Hampton.

APPENDIX B:

Dakota Territory Party (November 1878)

Arikara

Karunach [Sioux Boy] (16)
Laughing Face (18)
Shooting Bear (20)
Ahuka (20)
Mary Dawson (25, female)
Anna Dawson (10, female)

Mandan

White Breast [Sayedda] (18)
Kawhat (12)
Ecorruptaha (18)

Gros Ventre

Arihotchkish [Long Arm] (13)
Tom Smith (14)
Josephine Malnourie (18, female)
Sarah Walker (13, female)

Cheyenne River Sioux

John Robb (17)
Daniel Cantewanica (14)
Henry Fisherman (17)
Harry Brown (14)
Louis Aygenoughwea (15)
Leroy Shutaschnay (14)
Jospeh Wahn (14)
Samuel Wamini Luza (14)
Charley Tatankaska (12)

Yankton Sioux

George DeLoria (15)
Oscar Brown (13)
Charley Willis (18)
Samuel Four Star (19)
Mary Kettle (16, female)
Lizzie Spider (14, female)
Carrie Anderson (12, female)

Crow Creek Sioux

Grey Legs (18)
Walking Cloud (19)
Pamani (19)
Charley Stone (14)
Fox (16)
Zie-Wie (15, female)

Standing Rock Sioux

John Cadocte (18)
Carries Flying (16)
John Pleets (18)
Rosa Pleets (15, female)

Lower Brulè Sioux

Francis Recontre (17)
Joseph Winnebago (16)
Henry Recontre (18)
George Bushotter (15)
Zedo Recontre (16)
James Thompson (17)

Edmund Bishop (14)
Dave Simmons (13)
Joseph Cook (19)
Frank Yellow Bird (18)

APPENDIX C:

Hampton's Indian "Grandchildren"

Males

Children:	Tribal Affiliation:	Parent(s):
Alford, Charles R.:	Absentee-Shawnee --	Thomas Wildcat Alford
Alford, Paul L.:	Absentee-Shawnee --	Thomas Wildcat Alford
Alford, Pierrepont:	Absentee Shawnee --	Thomas Wildcat Alford
Archambault, Charles:	Standing Rock Sioux --	John Archambault
Bernie, Robert:	Yankton Sioux --	Jesse Bernie
Baird, Emerson:	Oneida --	Chauncey Baird and Matilda Metoxen
Blythe, Sampson:	Eastern Band Cherokee --	Arch Blythe
Brave, Benjamin D:	Lower Brulè Sioux --	Ida Recontre and Benjamin Brave, Sr.
DuBray, Everett:	Yankton Sioux --	Joseph DuBray
Fly, Joseph:	Standing Rock Sioux --	Thomas Fly and Alma Ramsey (step-mother)
Frost, Leon Leeds:	Omaha --	Charles Frost
Frosted, Philip:	Standing Rock Sioux --	Thomas Frost
Gabe, Joseph:	Standing Rock Sioux --	Baptiste Gabe
Hinman, Horace:	Winnebago --	Rachel Sheridan (step-mother)
Murie, Henry:	Pawnee --	Alfred Murie
Pattee, Fred:	Cheyenne River Sioux --	Lottie Smith and John Pattee
Patterson, Asa:	Tuscarora --	Holland Patterson
Pease, David:	Crow/Gros Ventre --	Sarah Walker
Pleets, Jesse:	Standing Rock Sioux --	John Pleets
Roberts, Henry:	Pawnee --	Rush Roberts

Saul, David: Lower Brulè Sioux -- William Saul (step-father)

Saul, Moses: Yankton Sioux -- William Saul

Simpson, Albert: Arikara -- White Breast (Sayedda)

Skenandore, James Jesse: Oneida -- Electa Cooper and James Skenandore

Stabler, Armell: Omaha -- Roy Stabler and Josephine Armell

Wahnetah, Samuel: Eastern Band Cherokee -- William Wahnetah

Welsh, Herbert H., Jr.: Standing Rock Sioux -- Herbert Welsh, Sr.

Females

Baird Luella: Oneida -- Chauncey Baird and Matilda Metoxen

Brave, Florence: Lower Brulè Sioux -- Benjamin Brave and Ida Recontre

Clark, Evangeline: Seneca -- Clarence Plummer (step-father)

Conger, Eva: Yankton Sioux -- Henry Conger

Hinman, Ethel: Winnebago -- Rachel Sheridan (step-mother)

Howe, Pearl: Stockbridge/Crow Creek Sioux -- Anna Howard and Guy Howe

Keith, Mary Winona: Yankton Sioux -- Mary Goulet

Meyers, Leta von Felden: Omaha -- Garry Meyers

Murie, Caroline: Pawnee -- James R. Murie

Patterson, Kate: Tuscarora -- Holland Patterson

Roberts, Nellie: Pawnee -- Rush Roberts

Scanandore, Elsie: Seneca -- Joel Scanandore and Ellen Crouse

Scanandore, Lydia: Seneca -- Joel Scanandore and Ellen Crouse

Skenandore, Lena: Oneida -- Lehigh Wheelock (step-daughter)

Springer, Mabel: Omaha -- Grace Pilcher

APPENDIX D:

Indian Student Mortality at Hampton

Male Deaths

1. Sharphorn (Arikara) -- January 1879
2. Tsadletah (Kiowa) -- October 1879
3. Nick Pratt (Cheyenne) -- May 1879
4. Walking Cloud (Crow Creek Sioux) -- June 1879
5. Ecorruptaha (Mandan) -- June 1880
6. John Robb (Cheyenne River Agency Sioux) -- August 1879
7. Francis Recontre (Lower Brulè Sioux) -- December 1879
8. George Norcross (Mohave) -- September 1881
9. Enoch Conklin [Savarpks] (Pima) -- October 1881
10. White Back (Mandan) -- January 1882
11. Good Horse (Cheyenne River Sioux) -- November 1882
12. Henry Kendall (Yuma) -- August 1883
13. Simon Mazakute (Crow Creek Sioux) -- March 1884
14. Cracking Wing (Mandan) -- April 1884
15. Eddie Buck (Crow Creek Sioux) -- December 1884
16. John Blue Pipe (Crow Creek Sioux) -- May 1885
17. Benjamin Bear Bird (Lower Brulè Sioux) -- August 1885
18. Armstrong Fire Cloud (Crow Creek Sioux) -- August 1886
19. Daniel Fire Cloud, Jr. (Crow Creek Sioux) -- Sept. 1886
20. William Little Crow (Yankton Sioux) -- October 1886
21. Alex Estes (Yankton Sioux) -- February 1887
22. Obed Phelps (Standing Rock Sioux) -- March 1887
23. Frank Door (Cheyenne River Sioux) -- June 1888

24. Gamaliel Robertson (Sisseton Sioux) -- May 1889
25. James McCoy (Pawnee) -- July 1889
26. Tyrell Pole-Ant (Kiowa) -- March 1890
27. Walter Little Eagle (Crow Creek Sioux) -- July 1892
28. Abel Wolfe (Eastern Cherokee) -- May 1901
29. James Terell Goings (Pine Ridge Sioux) -- August 1901
30. Daniel Dorchester (Yuma) -- October 1904

Female Deaths

1. Francesca Rios (Papago) -- August 1883
2. Mary Red Bird (Crow Creek Sioux) -- May 1884
3. Helen Scott (Apache) -- November 1884
4. Lucy Ida Black (Crow Creek Sioux) -- December 1884
5. Eva Goodroad (Lower Brulè Sioux) -- January 1885
6. Mary Pretty Hair (Lower Brulè Sioux) -- January 1885
7. Laura Bowed Head (Crow Creek Sioux) -- March 1885
8. Emma Whips (Crow Creek Sioux) -- March 1885
9. Edith Yellow Hair (Cheyenne River Sioux) -- November 1885
10. Elizabeth Kennedy (Yankton Sioux) -- June 1886
11. Louisa Banks (Crow Creek Sioux) -- June 1886
12. Virginia Medicine Bull (Lower Brulè Sioux) -- June 1886
13. Marcella Pleets (Standing Rock Sioux) -- August 1888
14. Fannie Frazier (Santee Sioux) -- July 1892
15. Hattie Kellogg (Apache) -- February 1895
16. Agnes Gillette (Arikara) -- July 1900
17. Bertha Mountain Sheep (Crow) -- February 1909

APPENDIX E:

American Indian Families at Hampton

1. All Yellow (Standing Rock Sioux): Oct. 1887 - Sept. 1888

   James (Atayagi) [2/2, age 21] and Jane (Eagle Face) [2/2 age, 20]

2. Bear (Winnebago): Nov. 1888 - April 1890

   John [2/2, age 24] and Cora Frenchman [1/2, age 19]
   Children: Thomas Morgan born at HI in December 1889.

3. Bear Bird (Lower Brulè Sioux): Nov. 1884 - March 1886

   Baptiste (Catka-tanka) [2/2, age 20] and Julia (Many Words) [2/2, age 16]
   Children: Benjamin born at HI. He later died at the school on August 4, 1885.

4. Buck (Crow Creek Sioux): Nov. 1884 - Feb. 1885

   Louis [2/2, age 26] and Hannah [2/2, age 25]
   Children: Eddie (died at HI in 1884) [age 1] and Eugene [age 3]

5. Counsellor (Lower Brulè Sioux): Dec. 1882 - May 1884

   Philip (Wanokia) [2/2, age 25] and Kate Brazeau (Niniyatwin) [2/2, age 18]
   Children: Charles

6. De Sheuquette (Lower Brulè Sioux): Aug. 1885 - July 1886

   Leon [1/2, age 22] and Susan Tompkins [2/2, age 19]

7. Ellis (Lower Brulè Sioux): August 1885 - Nov. 1885

   Joseph [1/2, age 21] and Ellen (Asankuwin) [2/2, age 19]

8. Fire Cloud (Crow Creek Sioux): April 1885 - Oct. 1886

Daniel [2/2, age 30] and Emma (White Buffalo) [2/2, age 29]
Children: Daniel and James were already at HI. Tommy and Walter accompanied their parents. Another child, Armstrong, was born and later died at the school on August 6, 1886. Daniel also died at HI on September 3, 1886, from an accidental poisoning.

9. Hamilton (Omaha): July 1885 - July 1889

James [2/2, age 21] and Minnie Pilcher [1/8, age 20]
Children: Frank born at HI on August 29, 1886.

10. High Bird (Cheyenne River Sioux): Oct. 1889 - July 1890

John (Zitkadan-wakantu) [2/2, age 17] and Irene (Jijia) [2/2, age 17]

11. LaFlesche (Omaha): August 1882 - 1886

Noah Stabler [2/2, age 27] and Lucy [1/2, age 21]
Lucy graduated from HI in 1886.

12. Lee (Lower Brulè Sioux): Nov. 1884 - Feb. 1885

Edgar (Candeska-koyake) [2/2, age 19] and Nellie (Tasinatankawin) [2/2, age 14]

13. Leming (Omaha): July 1885 - July 1886

Irish [2/2, age 24] and Stella (Tunegena) [2/2, age 18]
Children: Isabel Eustis Leming born at HI in April 1886

14. Levering (Omaha): August 1884 - July 1887

Milton (Little Hoop) [2/2, age 20] and Nancy [2/2, age 15]

15. Little Eagle (Crow Creek Sioux): Nov. 1886 - Sept. 1888

Henry (Wambdi Cistinia) [2/2, age 21] and Lucy (Winona) [2/2, age 18]
Children: Martha Waldron born at HI on June 26, 1888. A son died at HI during their stay.

16. Miller (Omaha): July 1887 - Nov. 1889

George [2/2, age 32] and Mary Sansouci [1/2, age 25]
Children: Eddie, John, and Alice (born at HI in 1888).

17. Pamani (Standing Rock Sioux): June 1884 - July 1885

Frank (Hoots-While-Walking) [2/2, age 26] and Celeste [2/2, age 18]

18. Paypay (Cheyenne River Sioux): Nov. 1886 - July 1889

James [1/2, age 21] and Antoinette (Wambdiwin) [2/2, age 18]
Children: Fred (born at HI in 1887) and Harrison (born at HI in 1888).

19. Phelps (Standing Rock Sioux): Nov. 1886 - June 1887

Edwin [2/2, age 32] and Ellen [2/2, age 30]
Children: Ella, Matteos, Gideon, and Obed. Obed was born at HI and later died at the school on March 21, 1887.

20. Robertson (Sisseton Sioux): Nov. 1888 - July 1889

Gabriel [1/2, age 19] and Elizabeth Crawford [2/2, age 22]
Children: Gamaliel (born and later died at HI in 1889)

21. Stabler (Omaha): 1917-1918

George (Nahetish) and Eunice
Children: Arrived at school with Freddie Merrick (Eunice's nephew). Eunice's niece, Elizabeth Lieb (Omaha), joined them a short time later. The Stabler's own child, Hollis Andrus Stabler, was born at HI in February 1918.

22. Stabler (Omaha): August 1882 - March 1885

Philip [2/2, age 25] and Minnie [2/2, age 22]
Children: Eddie

23. Tiaokasin (Standing Rock Sioux): October 1887 - May 1889

John (Looks-into-the-Lodge) [2/2, age 22] and Rosa Pleets (Wasicuwin) [1/2, age 23]
Children: Richard born at HI on March 4, 1888.

One-Parent Families At Hampton

1. Azul (Pima) : February 1881 - June 1882

Antonito [2/2, age 30] brought his son Harry [2/2, age 9] and other family members to Hampton to get some ideas that might benefit his tribe.

2. Banks (Crow Creek Sioux): April 1885 - 1886

Louisa (Her Bed) [2/2, age 20] came to Hampton with her one year-old daughter Grace in 1885. Grace returned home following her mother's death on June 23, 1886.

3. Dawson (Arikara): Nov. 1878 - Oct. 1879

Mary [2/2, age 24] brought Anna [1/2, age 8] to Hampton in 1878. She left the child in Hampton's care when she returned to the Fort Berthold reservation in 1879.

4. Mitchell (Omaha): July 1887 - July 1890

Lucy [2/2, age 25], a recent widow, accompanied her daughter Ida [2/2, age 7] to Hampton.

APPENDIX F:

Hampton's "Black Indians"

Female Students:

1. Bunn, Grace (Shinnecock)
2. Bunn, Minnie May (Shinnecock)
3. Coleman, Nancy (Eastern Band Cherokee)
4. Corn, Emma (Pine Ridge Sioux)
5. Goings, Virgie May (Pine Ridge Sioux)
6. Johnson, Laura Lavina (Lower Brulè Sioux)
7. Powdrill, Cynthia (Pueblo)
8. Ransom, Virginia (Pueblo)
9. Shawnee, Emaline (Absentee-Shawnee)
10. Shawnee, Eva (Absentee-Shawnee)
11. Shawnee, Julia (Absentee-Shawnee)
12. Shawnee, Lydia (Absentee-Shawnee)
13. Shawnee, Myrtle (Absentee-Shawnee)
14. Shawnee, Rebecca (Absentee-Shawnee)
15. Smith, Josephine (Yuki)
16. Swayney, Arizona (Eastern Band Cherokee)
17. Warren, Carrie (Arapaho)

Male Students:

1. Black Hawk, Frank (Standing Rock Sioux)
2. Black Hawk, Peter (Standing Rock Sioux)
3. Coleman, Calvin (Eastern Band Cherokee)
4. Goings, James Terrel (Pine Ridge Sioux)
5. Lonewolf, William (Kiowa)
6. Shawnee, David (Absentee-Shawnee)
7. Shawnee, Lafayette (Absentee-Shawnee)
8. Swayney, Jesse (Eastern Band Cherokee)
9. Swayney, Lorenzo (Eastern Band Cherokee)
10. Thompson, Henry B. (Shinnecock)
11. Williams, James Prettyhair (Ponca)

Note: Donal Lindsey claims that 25 black Indians enrolled at Hampton, but he names only 23 of them. Student files do not exist in the Indian section for three pupils cited by Lindsey (Octavene Davis, Louisa Browner, and Myrtle Shawnee). In addition, Lindsey fails to mention 6 others. See Indians at Hampton Institute, 204-208, 238-239. I have also identified two students whose parents were Indian slaves, William McGilbry and Lousia Bruner. See Twenty-Two Years' Work, 218, 221-22.

APPENDIX G:

Hampton's Postgraduate Participants

Indian Males:

1. Pierrepont Alford (Absentee-Shawnee): 1903-1904, 1905-1906
2. Reuben Baird (Oneida): 1904-1906
3. Dan Bahylle (Pawnee): 1910
4. Joseph Blackhawk (Winnebago): 1907-1908
5. James Clifford (Pine Ridge Sioux): 1903-1904
6. Jacob C. Morgan (Navaho): 1901-1903
7. Michael Oshkeneny (Menominee): 1886-1887
8. Charles Picotte (Yankton Sioux): 1886-1887
9. Edward Skenandore (Oneida): 1903-1904
10. Luther Smith (Oneida): 1917-1918
11. Edward K. Upikata (Santee Sioux): 1901-1904
12. John Walker Green (Navaho): 1898-1899
13. Isaac Newton Webster (Oneida): 1902-1903
14. Ralph Emerson White (Standing Rock Sioux): 1908-1910
15. Frank Yeago Wilson (Pine Ridge Sioux): 1906-1907

Indian Females:

1. Elizabeth Bender (Chippewa): 1907-1908
2. Stella Blythe (Eastern Band Cherokee): 1908-1909
3. Nancy Coleman (Eastern Band Cherokee): 1918-1921
4. Lucy Conger (Yankton Sioux): 1898, 1902-1903
5. Sibyl Conger (Yankton Sioux): 1903-1904
6. Elizabeth Cornelius (Oneida): 1900-1901
7. Anna Dawson (Arikara): 1885-1887
8. Julia Decora (Winnebago): 1896-1898
9. Emma DeCorra (Winnebago): 1908-1910
10. Ida Elm (Oneida): 1908-1909
11. Lucinda George (Onondaga): 1897-1899
12. Lena Ludwick (Oneida): 1908-1910
13. Stella O'Donnell (Chippewa): 1908-1910
14. Agnes Oliver (Chippewa): 1910-1911
15. Adele Qinney (Stockbridge): 1901-1903
16. Louisa Quinney (Stockbridge): 1899-1901
17. Dorsie Ross (Clallam): 1908-1909
18. Zallie Rulo (Yankton Sioux): 1885
19. Eva Shawnee (Adopted Absentee-Shawnee): 1906-1908
20. Inez Splitlog (Seneca): 1899-1900
21. Julia St. Cyr (Winnebago): 1888
22. Arizona Swayney (Eastern Band Cherokee): 1900-1901
23. Evelyn Twoguns (Seneca): 1910-1911, 1918-1919
24. Rhoda Wheelock (Oneida): 1898-1899
25. Lizzie Young (Wyandot): 1891-1892

APPENDIX H:

Hampton's American Indian Graduates

Class of 1882 (3 males)

Alford, Thomas Wildcat (Absentee-Shawnee)
Downing, John D. (Cherokee)
Oshkeneny, Michael (Menominee)

Class of 1883 (1 male)

Murie, James (Pawnee)

Class of 1885 (1 male, 3 females)

Miles, Thomas (Sac & Fox)
Dawson, Anna (Arikara)
Rulo, Zallie (Yankton Sioux)
St. Cyr, Julia (Winnebago)

Class of 1886 (1 male, 2 females)

Picotte, Charles (Yankton Sioux)
LaFlesche, Lucy (Omaha)
LaFlesche, Susan (Omaha)

Class of 1887 (2 males, 2 females)

Battice, Walter (Sac & Fox)
Maquimetas, Mitchell (Menominee)
Barnaby, Josephine (Omaha)
LaFlesche, Marguerite (Omaha)

Class of 1888 (2 males)

Fontenelle, Eugene (Omaha)
Powless, Richard (Oneida)

Class of 1889 (6 males)

Chilson, Daniel (Potawatomi)
Doxon, Charles (Onondaga)
Fontenelle, Albert (Omaha)
Kealear, Charles (Yankton Sioux)
Lyman, Henry (Yankton Sioux)
Sloan, Thomas (Omaha)

Class of 1890 (1 male, 1 female)

Bruyier, John (Crow Creek Sioux)
Pilcher, Etta (Omaha)

Class of 1891 (4 males, 3 females)

Johnson, Andrew (Potawatomi)
Kennedy, Van Metre (Lower Brulè Sioux)
Pattee, John (Cheyenne River Sioux)
Whistler, John (Sac & Fox)
DeCora, Angel (Winnebago)
Henderson, Kate (Sioux)
Young, Lizzie (Wyandot)

Class of 1892 (3 males, 2 females)

Enouf, James (Potawatomi)
Haus, George (Potawatomi)
Jones, William (Sac & Fox)
Lovejoy, Anna (Flandreau Sioux)
Stevens, Addie (Winnebago)

Class of 1893 (2 males)

Bazhaw, Frank (Potawatomi)
Hubbard, Frank (Penobscot)

Class of 1894 (1 male, 1 female)

Kingsley, Ebenezer (Winnebago)
Printup, Selina (Seneca)

Class of 1895 (3 males, 3 females)

Frazier, George Judson (Santee Sioux)
Higheagle, Robert (Standing Rock Sioux)
Hill, David (Onondaga)
Jemison, Irene (Seneca)
Powless, Ella (Oneida)
Skye, Phoebe (Seneca)

Class of 1896 (4 females)

DeCora, Julia (Winnebago)
Jones, Lucy (Tuscarora)
Poodry, Sadie (Seneca)
Powless, Maggie (Oneida)

Class of 1897 (4 females)

Armell, Josephine (Winnebago)
Conger, Lucy (Yankton Sioux)
George, Lucinda (Onondaga)
Wheelock, Rhoda (Oneida)

Class of 1898 (4 males, 3 females)

Ankle, Matthew (Standing Rock Sioux)
Bishop, Lucius (Seneca)
George, Samuel (Seneca)
Walker, John (Navaho)
George, Helen (Seneca)
Quinney, Louisa (Stockbridge)
Splitlog, Inez (Seneca)

Class of 1899 (2 males, 2 females)

Elm, Andrew (Oneida)
Fielder, Henry (Cheyenne River Sioux)
Cornelius, Elizabeth (Oneida)
Swayney, Arizona (Eastern Band Cherokee)

Class of 1900 (2 males)

Morgan, Jacob (Navaho)
Ross, Joseph (Pine Ridge Sioux)

Class of 1901 (3 males, 1 female)

Jones, Adoplhus (Tuscarora)
Lolorias, John (Papago)
Ukipata, Edward K. (Santee Sioux)
Quinney, Adele (Stockbridge)

Class of 1902 (3 males, 1 female)

George, Wallace (Seneca)
Lambert, Hugh (Eastern Band Cherokee)
Webster, Isaac Newton (Oneida)
Powless, Cora (Oneida)

Class of 1903 (5 males, 2 females)

Alford, Pierrepont (Absentee-Shawnee)
Clifford, James (Pine Ridge Sioux)
Hamlin, George (Chippewa)
Ross, Oliver (Pine Ridge Sioux)
Skenandore, Edward (Oneida)
Conger, Sibyl (Yankton Sioux)
Poodry, Fannie (Seneca)

Class of 1904 (2 males, 3 females)

Baird, Reuben (Oneida)
Tyner, John (Absentee-Shawnee)
Brown, Flora (Absentee-Shawnee)
Hill, Josephine (Oneida)
Shawnee, Eva (Adopted Absentee-Shawnee)

Class of 1905 (1 male)

Hamlin, Louis (Chippewa)

Class of 1906 (5 males, 1 female)

Alford, Charles (Absentee-Shawnee)
Blackhawk, Joseph (Winnebago)
Thompson, Henry B. (Shinnecock)
Wall, Asa (Potawatomi)
Wilson, Frank Yeago (Pine Ridge Sioux)
Bender, Annie (Chippewa)

Class of 1907 (1 male, 4 females)

Greene, James (Seneca)
Bender, Elizabeth (Chippewa)
McIntosh, Almira (Yankton Sioux)
Seneca, Bernedena (Seneca)
Silverheels, Florence (Seneca)

Class of 1908 (6 males, 8 females)

Dodson, John (Shoshoni)
Hood, Luther (Absentee-Shawnee)
Martinez, John (Pueblo)
Pierce, Leroy (Onondaga)
Roberts, Henry (Pawnee)
White, Ralph Emerson (Standing Rock Sioux)
Blythe, Stella (Eastern Band Cherokee)
Elm, Ida (Oneida)
Hill, Inez (Oneida)
Ludwick, Lena (Oneida)
O'Donnell, Stella (Chippewa)
Peters, Bessie (Stockbridge)
Ross, Dorsie (Clallam)
Thompson, Agnes (Assiniboin)

Class of 1909 (3 males, 4 females)

Bayhylle, Daniel (Pawnee)
Bishop, Benjamin Franklin (Seneca)
Goforth, Ernest (Cree)
Giard, Emma (Chippewa)
Gutierrez, Carlotta (Navaho)
Tabischaddie, Irene (Apache)
Twoguns, Evelyn (Seneca)

Class of 1910 (3 females)

DeCorra, Emma (Winnebago)
Lamote, Priscilla (Menominee)
Oliver, Agnes (Chippewa)

Class of 1911 (1 male, 2 females)

Manuel, Victor (Pima)
Broker, Mary (Chippewa)
Garlow, Winifred (Tuscarora)

Class of 1912 (1 male, 2 females)

Shawnee, Lafayette (Adopted Absentee-Shawnee)
Corn, Emma (Pine Ridge Sioux)
Hewitt, Caroline (Seneca)

Class of 1913 (2 males, 1 female)

Brown, George (Chippewa)
Wolfe, Michael (Chippewa)
Snow, Julia (Seneca)

Class of 1914 (3 females)

O'Donnell, Nellie (Chippewa)
Owl, Lula (Eastern Band Cherokee)
St. Martin, Susie (Chippewa)

Class of 1915 (3 males, 2 females)

Bender, Fred (Chippewa)
Owl, Walter David (Eastern Band Cherokee)
Williams, Reuben (Tuscarora)
Montion, Carmen (Yaqui)
Powdrill, Cynthia (Pueblo)

Class of 1916 (3 males, 2 females)

Gurnoe, George (Chippewa)
Smith, Luther (Oneida)
Thomas, Daniel (Pima)
Hunter, Lucy (Winnebago)
Warren, Carrie (Arapaho)

Class of 1917 (3 females)

Charles, Ethel (Cayuga)
Coleman, Nancy (Eastern Band Cherokee)
Pierce, Rogene (Cayuga)

Class of 1918 (3 males)

Jimerson, Theodore L. (Seneca)
Owl, Henry (Eastern Band Cherokee)
Sapcut, William (Comanche)

Class of 1919 (1 male, 1 female)

Jackson, Philo (Munsee)
Jamison, Norah (Seneca)

Class of 1920 (1 male)

Owl, Frel (Eastern Band Cherokee)

Class of 1921 (1 male)

Blackhoop, Frank David (Standing Rock Sioux)

Class of 1922 (1 male, 1 female)

Bird, Eli (Eastern Band Cherokee)
Bunn, Minnie Mae (Shinnecock)

Class of 1923 (1 male)

Sundown, Roland (Seneca)

APPENDIX I:

Indian Graduates by Tribal Affiliation

Male Indian Graduates: 85
Female Indian Graduates: 70

Tribal Affiliation:

Absentee-Shawnee: 7
Arapaho: 1
Arikara: 1
Assiniboin: 1
Cayuaga: 2
Cherokee: 1
Chippewa: 14
Clallam: 1
Comanche: 1
Cree: 1
Eastern Band Cherokee: 9
Menominee: 3
Munsee: 1
Navaho: 3
Omaha: 8
Oneida: 15
Onondaga: 4
Papago: 1
Pawnee: 3
Penobscot: 1
Pima: 1
Potawatomi: 6
Pueblo: 2
Sac & Fox: 4
Seneca: 20
Shinnecock: 2
Shoshoni: 1
Sioux: 24

Cheyenne River: 2	Crow Creek: 1
Flandreau: 1	Lower Brulè: 1
Pine Ridge: 5	Poplar Agency: 1
Santee: 2	Standing Rock: 4
Yankton: 6	

Stockbridge: 3
Tuscarora: 4
Winnebago: 9
Wyandot: 1
Yaqui: 1

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Born in Kenosha, Wisconsin, March 6, 1965. Graduated from Dominican High School in Whitefish Bay, Wisconsin, in June 1983. The author, a member of Phi Beta Kappa, graduated "Magna Cum Laude" from Marquette University in 1987. He later completed his M.A. in United States History under the guidance of Francis Paul Prucha at Marquette University in 1989. The author entered the College of William and Mary as a graduate student and teaching assistant in the Department of History in August 1989. He passed his Ph.D. qualifying exams "with distinction" in March 1991. The State Council for Higher Education in Virginia named the author a 1993-1994 Commonwealth Fellow in recognition of his academic and personal achievements. The author has also contributed articles for the American National Biography, Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing, The Encyclopedia of American Indians, and Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia.